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ASPECTS OF MILITARY ADMINISTRATION IN ANCIENT INDIA: A CASE STUDY OF THE INSCRIPTIONS FROM c.300 B.C. TO 650 A.D.

J.K. JAIN*

The inscriptions are one of the most important source of information for reconstructing the history of administration in ancient India. Undoubtedly, the inscriptions are donative. They throw ample light on the administrative system prevalent in actual practice rather than the conceptual aspect propounded in the contemporary literature. This article embodies some aspects of the military administration in ancient India as depicted in the inscriptions from c. 300 B.C. to 650 A.D.

Constituents of the fighting force

To defend the state from external aggressions, to curb internal turmoil and also to maintain law and order and territorial expansion in the state were considered some of the most important duties of a king in ancient states of northern India. It was, therefore, necessary to build up and maintain an army as big as could be afforded within the economic resources of the kingdom. The inscriptions of ancient India help us a lot in becoming acquainted with the military administration prevalent during the period. The Junagarh Rock Inscription of Rudradaman¹ refers to the fact that he acquired expertise in chariots, horses and elephants in his early age. The Nalanda² and Gaya³ Copper Plate Inscriptions of Samudragupta, the Gunaighar Copper Plate Inscription⁴ of Vinyagupta, the Madhubana⁵ and Banskhera⁶ Copper Plate Inscriptions of Harsavardhana mention that the encampments of the kings were full of horses, elephants and many large ships. The Nidhanpur Copper Plate Inscription⁷ of Bhaskarvarman and the Deobarnark inscription⁸ of Jivitagupta

* Lecturer in History, L.N. Hindu College, Rohtak (Haryana)

1. *E.I.*, VIII, p.42 ff.
2. D.C Sircar, *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization, from 6th century B.C. to 6th century A.D.*, Calcutta, 1965, p.271; *E.I.*, XXV, pp.52 f and 135-36.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 273-74; J.F. Fleet, *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors, C.I.I.*, Vol-III, Varanasi, 1970, p.256.
4. R.K. Choudhary, *Prachin Bhartiya Abhilekha*, Meerut, p.84.
5. *E.I.*, I, p.72.
6. *E.I.*, IV, p. 210.
7. *E.I.*, XII, No. 13, p.76.
8. J.F. Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 217; R.K. Choudhary, *op.cit.*, p.177.

नमः स्वस्ति शक्ति त्रयो पातजय शब्देन महानौहास्यखपति सम्भारदुर्निवारजय स्कन्धावारात।

inform that encampments of these kings consisted of the mighty ships, elephants, horses and foot soldiers. Thus according to inscriptions there were two major constituents of the defence forces, namely army and admiralty (naval forces), and the chariots, infantry, cavalry and elephant corps constituted the army.

The writings of the ancient Indian classical writers and other sources throw enough light on the character of the army existing in those days. The *Arthashastra*⁹ describes infantry, chariots, cavalry and elephant corps as wings of the army and each wing of the army was controlled by a Superintendent called *Patyadhyaksha*, *Rathadhyaksha*, *Asvadhyaksha* and *Hastadhyaksha* respectively.¹⁰ It, however, also mentions the Superintendent of ships whose main duty was to observe and supervise the activities of sea-pirate ships, merchants, criminals and foreigners.¹¹ Megasthenes,¹² a diplomat and writer states that the army and admiralty was two forms of defence forces. However, while giving account of various constituents of the army he includes transport and commissariat army (service including the provision of drummers, grooms, mechanics and grass cutters) as a constituents part of army alongwith infantry, cavalry, elephants and war chariots. Kamandaka,^{12-A} apart from these constituents of army, mentions diplomacy and treasury as part and parcel of armed forces. The description reveals that besides navy, the Indian army was constituted of infantry, chariots, cavalry and elephant corps. It goes without saying that transport and commissariat army as well as diplomacy and treasury were not the fighting forces rather than they were complementary forces to maintain supply line of arms-ammunitions, food, maintenance services, informations, funds, etc., to the main fighting forces, that is why the inscriptions do not refer to these complementary services while giving account of the actual fighting forces.

Although the four wings of the army and navy had their own commanders yet they were controlled by the commander-in-chief. The Nalanda Copper Plate Inscription¹³ of Samudragupta, the Karmadanda Shiva Linga Stone Inscription of Kumaragupta¹⁴

9. *Arthashastra* of Kautilya, ed. & tr. by R. Shamasastary, Mysore, 1961, X.4.

10. *Ibid.*, II.33; II.30; II.31.

The Udaigiri Cave Inscription describes that *Asvadhyaksha* was also called *Asvapati* (J.F. Fleet, *op.cit.*, p.260). Likely the Nalanda Copper Plate Inscription of Samudragupta (E.I., XXV, pp. 52 f) and the Gunaighar Copper Plate Inscription of Vainyagupta points out *Pilupati* and *Mahapilupati* as Supdt. of the elephant corps in the Gupta empire (I.H.Q. VI, p. 53).

11. A.S., II.28.

12. J.W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as Depicted by Megasthenes and Arrian*, Calcutta, 1972, pp.88-89, fn.5.

12-A. *Kamandaka Nitisara*, ed. by T. Ganapati Sastri, Trivandrum, 1912 (rpt.), 1982, XVII, 2.

13. D.C. Sircar, S.I., p.272; E.I., XXVI, pp. 52 f.

14. *Ibid.*, p.290; E.I., X, p.7 ff.

and the Majhgawan Copper Plate Inscription¹⁵ of *Maharaja Hastin* (year 191) refer to *Mahabaladhikrita* as chief of all the forces. On the other hand the Bijoygarh Inscription¹⁶ of the Yaudheyas *Gana* describes that the chief of the *Gana* who held the title of *Maharaja* too acted as *Mahasenapati* (commander-in-chief). The *Arthashastra* describes¹⁷ that the *Senapati* (commander-in-chief of the army) adept in all modes of warfare (*Sarvayudha*) well versed in handling all kinds of weapons (*Praharana*), possessing modernity knowledge (*Vidyavinita*) capable of controlling all the four wings of the army. *Chaturangini sena* was appointed to lead the army.

It is revealed from the study of the inscriptions that on very important occasions the army moved to the battlefields under the leadership of the king. The Thirteenth Rock Edict of Ashoka,¹⁸ the Allahabad¹⁹ and Eran²⁰ Stone Pillar Inscriptions of Samudragupta, the Mathura Stone Inscription²¹ and the Mehrauli Iron Pillar Inscription of Chandragupta,²² the Bhitri Stone Inscription,²³ the Junagarh Stone Inscription²⁴ of Skandagupta, the Mandisor Stone Pillar Inscription²⁵ of Yashodharman, the Apsad Stone Inscription²⁶ of Adityasena and the Madhubana²⁷ and Banskhera²⁸ Copper Plate Inscriptions of Harsavardhana frequently mention the kings as supreme commanders under whose control the army moved to the battle fields. On the basis of the evidence contained in different kinds of sources it can be said that the defence mechanism employed by the kings of northern India was organised to meet the challenges of the times.

Composition of army

The inscriptions mention the recruitment procedure followed in the army in ancient India. The Karmadanda Shiva Linga Inscription²⁹ of Kumaragupta depicts Prithivisena son of Sikharasvamin, who belonged to the *brahmana* community as Kumaramatyā and *Mahabaladhikrita* (chief of the forces), the Banskhera³⁰ and

15. J.F. Fleet, *op.cit.*, pp.108-09.

16. *Ibid.*, No.58, pp.251-52.

17. *A.S.*, II,33.

18. E. Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Ashoka, C.I.I.*, Vol-I, New Delhi (rpt.), 1969, p.66 ff.

19. J.F. Fleet, *op.cit.*, No. 1, pp. 10-14.

20. *Ibid.*, No.2, pp. 20-21.

21. *Ibid.*, No. 4, pp. 27-28.

22. *Ibid.*, No. 32, pp. 141-42; *JRASB*, L.V., pp. 407 ff.

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55; *Bhandarkar's List* No. 1549.

24. *Ibid.*, No. 14, p.62.

25. *Ibid.*, No. 33, pp. 147-48.

26. *Ibid.*, No. 42, pp. 205-06.

27. *E.I.*, I, p. 72.

28. R.K. Choudhary, *op.cit.*, p.110 & *E.I.*, IV, pp. 210-11.

29. D.C. Sircar, *S.I.*, pp. 289-90; *E.I.*, X, pp. 71ff.

30. *E.I.*, IV, p. 210; R.K. Choudhary, *op.cit.*, p.110.

Madhubana³¹ Copper Plate Inscriptions of Harsavardhana make a mention of Skandagupta, probably belonging to the *Vaishya* caste, as high military officer and Tipper Copper Plate Inscription³² of Lokanatha (650 AD) mentions Kesava, of a mixed caste (*Parasava*), as an army General. These records do show that recruitment to the army was made from all the castes.

Besides the regular recruitment of soldiers, the inscriptions reveal that the army of the kings in ancient northern India included the army of the feudatories and *Srenis* (guilds). The Eran Stone Pillar Inscription³³ of Gopraja (a feudatory of the Guptas) refers that he fought bravely and died for his master Bhanugupta (Gupta king). The inscriptions of the *Ucchkalapas*³⁴ and the *Parivrajikas*³⁵ *Mahārājās* depict them as the feudatories of the Guptas while the Eran Stone Inscription of Buddhagupta mentions Matr Vishnu as the feudatory of the said king. B.K. Majumdar³⁶ suggests, "If the existence of a number of *Sāmanta* princes or feudal chiefs bearing the titles of *Mahārāja*, *Mahāsāmanta*, *Mahāsenāpati*, etc., mentioned in various Gupta inscriptions is accepted, then it is reasonable to conclude that the Guptas in their wars and conquests and in their task of guarding the frontiers requisitioned the services of feudal militia."

The third type of army as mentioned in the inscriptions is the army of the *Srenis*. The Mandsor Stone Inscription³⁷ of Kumaragupta-I and Bandhuvarman states that the *Sreni* (guild) of silk weavers adopted in the use of the weapons of war. This shows that in ancient times there had been a class of *Srenis* which followed some industrial arts and carried on the military profession at the same time.

The contemporary literature gives ample information in connection with the composition of army in ancient times. Kautilya³⁸ prefers *Kshatriyas* army. However, he describes the *Brahmanas* as superior to those of the two lower *varnas*, the *Vaishyas* and the *Sudras*. He classifies the army into six categories: 1. *Maula* (regular hereditary army or army of the line), 2. *Bhrita* or mercenary troops, 3. *Srenibala* (army of the *srenis*), 4. *Ātvika* troops (auxiliaries), 5. *Mitrabala* (ally contingents) and 6. *Dvisadbalam* (troops captured in the wars). He further delineates that *Maula* (regular and hereditary) army is the best. These soldiers were recruited either from localities or by voluntary enlistment from the fighting races and tribes, notably *Kshatriyas*,

31. *E.I.*, I, p. 72.

32. *E.I.*, X, No. 15, p. 72.

33. J.F. Fleet, *op.cit.*, No. 20, pp. 91-93.

34. *Ibid.*, No. 26-31, pp. 117-35.

35. *Ibid.*, No. 21-25, pp. 93-112.

36. B.K. Majumdar, *The Military System in Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1955, p. 117.

37. J.F. Fleet, *op.cit.*, No. 18, p. 85; Bhandarkar list No. 8.

38. *A.S.*, VI.1.

as this type of army was found to be constantly obedient and contented, and was ready to follow the monarch in weal or woe. The *Bhrita* (mercenary) troops were recruited on contract basis from inside or outside the country while the *Srenibala* (troops of the guilds) were supplied by the wild tribes and the *Mitrabala* by the feudatories.— *Samantas* and *Mahasamantas* who assumed the title of *Rājās* and *Mahārājās*.³⁹ Kautilya⁴⁰ further states about the merits and demerits of different categories of armies. According to him, the *Maula* (hereditary) army is better than the hired army in as much as the former depends for its existence on its master and is constantly drilled. He further adds that kind of hired army which is ever near, is ready to rise quickly and is obedient, is better than a corporation of soldiers. Continuing his remarks, Kautilya says that corporation of soldiers which is native, which has the same views as the king, and which is actuated with similar feelings of rivalry, anger and expectation of success and gain, is better than the army of a friend. Even the corporation of soldiers which is further removed in place and time is, by virtue of its having the same end in view, is better than the army of a friend. The army of an enemy under the leadership of an *arya* is better than the army of the wild tribes. Both of them are anxious for plunder. In the absence of plunder and troubles, says Kautilya, they prove as dangerous as a lurking snake. More or less the same views have been expressed by Kāmandaka.⁴¹ Hieun Tsāng,⁴² the Chinese pilgrim who came to India during the reign of Harsavardhana, corroborates Kautilya and Kamandaka and says that the chief soldiers of the country are selected from the bravest of the people. The sons of those brave soldiers followed the profession of their fathers and acquired knowledge of the art of war. They dwelt in garrison around the palace during peace times but at the time of expedition they marched in front as an advance guard.

Thus, the description shows that the central core of army consisted of those soldiers who came mainly from the *Kshtriya* class and belonged to such families as had service in the army in their blood. They were well trained, drilled contented and loyal to the king. Persons from other castes, however, were not altogether excluded, some of them in fact occupied the higher positions in the army, especially during the Gupta and post-Gupta times. It appears that during the reigns of Guptas and Harsavardhana, who probably belonged to the *Vaishya* community, the persons other than the Brahmanas & Kshtriyas were also

39. *Ibid.*

40. *Ibid.*, IX, 2.

41. KNS, XIX.3 and XVIII, 4-8.

42. Samuel Beal, *The Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol-1, London, 1884, pp. 82-83.

appointed on the higher echelons of military administration. This proves that besides heredity, skill as a soldier too was considered a very important criterion in the matter of army recruitment.

In addition to the central army, there were armies of the *Srenis*, *Samantas*, *Atvika* troops, *Bhrita* (mercenary troops) and *Dvisadbalam* (troops captured in the wars). Since they were not in direct control of the king and were not as well trained and maintained as the regular army (*Maula*) of the king, they sometimes proved to be the weaker part of the army. This fact also led to lack of proper co-ordination among different constituents of the army at the time of war.

Weapons of war

Several types of weapons were used in wars in ancient India. Though the inscriptions of the Mauryas and post-Maurya kings do not make any reference to the weapons of war used in those days yet the inscriptions of the Gupta times give enough details in this regard. The Allahabad stone pillar inscription⁴³ of Samudragupta states various types of weapons, e.g., battle axes, arrows, spears, pikes, barbed darts, swords, lances, javeline, iron arrows, etc. The Mandsor Inscription of Kumaragupta-I and Bandhuvarman⁴⁴ mentions how some members of silk weavers guild (*sreni*) were expert in the art of archery. The Apsad Stone Inscription⁴⁵ of Adityasena records bows, *chakra* and swords as warfare weapons. Thus, weapons of a great variety were used in warfare.

The available literary sources point out that the list of war weapons as mentioned in the inscriptions of the Gupta times is not so large. The literary sources, especially belonging to the Maurya times, contain a number of such names of weapons as are not mentioned in the inscriptions. Kautilya⁴⁶ mentions such weapons as *Sarvatobhadra* (machine throwing stones), *Jamadagnya* (a large machine to shoot arrows), *Bahumukha*, *Visvasaghati*, *sanghati* (a long pole), *Yanka*, *parjanya* (a water machine to put out fire), *Ardhabahu* and *Urdhva* (a large pillar as immovable machines) and *Panchalika devadanda* (a long pole with iron nails). *Sakarika* (a leather cover to protect the tower), *Mussala*, *Yashti*, *Hastivaraka*, *Talavrnta*, *Mudgara*, *Gada* (a long and heavy rod), *Sparktala* (a rod with sharp points), *Kuddala* (a spade), *Asphatime* (A leather bag with a rod to produce high sound), *Audhgateima* (an instrument to pull down tower),

43. J.F. Fleet, *op.cit.*, p.12; D.C. Sircar, S.I., p. 264.

तस्य विविध-समर शतावतरण-दक्षस्य स्व भुज बल पराक्रमैक बन्धोः पराक्रमालुङ्गस्य परशु-शर-शङ्ख, क-शक्ति प्रसासि तोमर भिन्दिपालन।

44. J.F. Fleet, *op.cit.*, p.85; L,3-8.

45. *Ibid.*, No. 42, p.207.

46. A.S., II.18.

Sataghni (a big pillar with immense number of sharp points), *Trisula* and *Chakra* as movable machines.

Sakti (a metallic weapon), *Prasa*, *Kunta* (a wooden rod), *Hataka* (a rod with three or four points), *Bhindivala* (a rod with heavy top), *Sula*, *Tomara* (a rod with an arrow), *Varahakarna* (a rod with its edges shaped like the ear of a boar), *Kanaya* (*Karpana*, *Trasika*) were weapons with edges like a plough share.

Bows were called *Karmuka*, *Kodanda*, *Druna* and *Dhanus*; arrows— *Venu*, *Sara*, *Salaka*, *Daudasana* and *Naracha*, *Nistrimsa*, *Mandalagra* and *Asiyasthi* were the swords used at that time; *Parasū-Kuthara*, *Pattasa*, *Khanitra*, *Kuddala*, *Chakra* and *Kandach* *Chhedana* were razor like weapons.

Yantrapashana, *Gosh panapashana*, *Mustipashana*, *Rochani* (mill stone), *Lohajabka Patta*, *Kavacha*, and *Sutraka* are varieties of armour made of iron or of animal hide. *Sirastrana* (head cover), *Kanthatrana* (cover for neck), *Veti*, *Charma*, *Hastikarna*, *Talamuladhamanika*, *Kavata*, *Kitika Apratihata* and *Valahakanta* are instruments used for self defence.⁴⁷

The *Arthasastra*⁴⁸ further reveals that the weapons, armour, instruments, heavy machines were carried out by labourers from place to place during warfare.

Besides, the *Arthasastra*⁴⁹ refers that *Ayudhagaradhyaksha* (Superintendent of weaponary) was entirely responsible for the manufacturing of weapons and machines, their demand and supply, their use, application, wear and tear as well as decay and loss. It seems that a person well versed in handling of all kinds of weapons was appointed as *Ayudhagaradhyaksha*.

*Kalidasa*⁵⁰ divides the weapons into two categories— *Astra* and *Sastra*, the first being the weapons thrown with the help of a machine and the second which were used by the hands. The list of weapons given by *Kalidasa* is comprehensive. However, ancient warfare had a touch of music too. He, therefore, adds that musical instruments were also used during warfare. It was to the rhythm of beat of the drum that the forces marched to war. Thus the forces advanced to the battlefield to the accompaniment of war music, with thrilling tunes, reminding them of the past valour and achievements of their ancestors. These musical instruments included *Turya* (the war horn), *Dhundubhi*, *Ghanta*, *Bells*, *Conch*, etc.

Forts

Forts constituted an integral part of defence system in ancient times. Evidently, the forts were constructed to safeguard

47. *Ibid.*

48. *Ibid.*

49. *Ibid.*

50. *Raghuvamsa*, Act VII, 48-49.

and defend the empire from outside invasions. Only one inscription, i.e., the Deobarnarak Inscription⁵¹ of Jivitagupta contains a reference about his victorious camp and records that it was situated near the fort Gomati.

The literature prior to the study under review and the contemporary literature provides hints which suggests that the Indians were perfect in the art of making forts in the Vedic times. It is mentioned in the *Rig Veda*⁵² that the forts in the Vedic period were known as *Durga*, *Deho*, *Pur* and *Mahāpur*. Kautilya describes that forts in ancient times were constructed in all the four quarters of the territory of the State. There were several types of forts, viz., island forts, forts in the plains, forts in low lying places, forts protected by water, cave forts, hill forts, desert forts and forts constructed in forests.⁵³

Kautilya also advises the king that he may have his fortified capital (*Sthaniya*) as the seat of his treasury (*samudayasthanam*) in the centre of his kingdom; in a locality naturally best fitted for the purpose; such as the bank of confluence of rivers; a deep pool of perennial water, or of a lake, or tank; a fort, circular, rectangular, or square in form, surrounded with an artificial canal of water, and connected with both land and water paths. Round this fort there should be three ditches with an intermediate space of one *danda* (six feet) from each other, fourteen, twelve and ten *dandas* respectively in width.⁵⁴ Describing the importance of forts, Manu⁵⁵ holds that one bowman placed on a rampart is a match in battle for one hundred foes, one hundred for ten thousand, hence the king should build a fortress. These references specifically and sufficiently show that in ancient northern India forts were frequently built with rampart, ditches, etc., as a defence device against enemy's attack. It testifies the fact that the Indians in ancient period were conversant with the art of defence as well as offence.

Encampment

In ancient times it was considerable by the army to occupy a particular position for a considerable length of time, so a permanent sort of camp(encampment) was constructed. The inscriptions under study throw light on the features of encampment. The Mathura Lion Capital Inscription⁵⁶ mentions *Kadhavaro*,

51. J.F. Fleet, *op.cit.*, p.217; ASI, Vol, XVI, pp. 68-73 ff.

स्कन्धावारात गोमति को दटकसमीप वासकं....

52. *Rgveda* (ed.), N.S. Sonatakke and others, 3 Vols., Poona, 1936, 5/34/9; 8/25/2.

53. A.S., II.3.

54. *Ibid.*

55. *Manava Dharmasastra (Manu Smriti)*, ed. N.N. Mandlik, Bombay, 1886, VII. p 74.

56. Sten Konow, *Khrothi Inscriptions with the exceptions of Ashoka*, C.I.I., Vol-II, Calcutta, 1920, Varanasi, 1969, No. XV, p.48; E.I., IX, pp. 1441 ff; D.C. Sircar, S.I., p.117.

(*Kandhava*), *Veyaudirna* and *Kadhavaro Busapara* respectively. The Nalanda⁵⁷ and Gaya⁵⁸ Copper Plate Inscriptions of Samudragupta, the Gunaighar Copper Plate Inscription⁵⁹ of Vainyagupta, the Madhubana⁶⁰ and Banskhera⁶¹ Copper Plate Inscriptions of Harsavardhana, the Deobarnarak Copper Plate Inscription⁶² of Jivitagupta, Vallabhi grant of Dharsena⁶³ frequently refer *Jaiskandhava* consisted of great ships, elephants, horses and soldiers. Buhler⁶⁴ translates *Skandavara* as 'the army started in haste', 'the army intent on wealth'. But J.W. Thomas,⁶⁵ more specifically interprets the term as encampment.

The study of the contemporary literature helps us in knowing about the term clearly. Kautilya⁶⁶ opines that to select the site well suited for the construction of building, the general, the carpenters, and the astrologers should measure a circular, rectangular, or square plot of land (according to the shape of the available land) for the camp. It should contain four gates, six roads, and nine divisions, and should be provided with ditches, parapets, walls, means of exit, watch towers, temporary residence of the King, etc. He further recommends that the time of march of the camp the leader (*nāyaka*) should be in front; in the centre the harem and the master (the King); on the sides horses and bodyguards (*bahutsara*); at the extremity of the (marching) circular array, elephants and the surplus army; on all sides the army habituated to forest life; and other troops should follow the camp.⁶⁷ Kautilya⁶⁸ advises further that the army of an ally, and his followers should select their own road; for armies who have occurred suitable positions will prove superior in fight to those who are in bad positions. The commander should march behind and put up his camp in the front.

Bāna Bhatta,⁶⁹ in *Harsacharita* gives an actual description of the encampment built for Harsavardhana: "When King Harsavardhana went outside the capital for the campaign of North India, a military camp of bamboo and grass was constructed." Giving a graphic picture of the march of the army in the camp he writes that "at the close of third watch, when all creatures slept

57. D.C. Sircar, *S.I.*, pp. 270-71; *E.I.*, XXVI, p.52.

58. *Ibid.*, p.273; Bhandarkar's list No. 1540.

59. *Ibid.*, pp. 340-41; R.K. Choudhary, *op.cit.*, p.84.

60. *E.I.*, I, p.72.

61. *E.I.*, IV, p.210.

62. R.K. Choudhary, *op.cit.*, p.177; J.F. Fleet, *op.cit.*, p. 217.

63. *Ibid.*, p.162.

64. Cf. Sten Konow, *op.cit.*, p.43.

65. *E.I.*, IX, pp. 141 ff.

66. *A.S.*, X.2.

67. *Ibid.*

68. *Ibid.*

69. Bana Bhatta, *Harsacharita*, tr. by E.B. Cowell & F.W. Thomas, Delhi (rpt.), 1961, p. 203.

and all was still, the marching drum was beaten... then after a moment's pause, eight sharp strokes were distinctly given a new upon the drum, waking up the number of the leagues in the day's march... commanders mustered crowds of barracks superintendents... shrill words of command from the Marshalls dispelled the slumbers of blinking riders... servants of house builders rolled up yawnings and cloth screens belonging to tents and marquees.... Many elephants attendants were pressed to convey the stores... the carriages of high born noble's wives were thronged with roguish emissaries sent by prince of rank... first ran banner bearers... when the adorable sun rose, the signal conches were blown repeatedly announcing the moment of the king's arraying the army... the company of feudatory kings who were awaiting his (Harsavardhana) arrival greeted him, and bowed with bodies dutifully bent down.... After the review of the army by the Emperor was over, the march began."

System of Conquests

The King in ancient India cherished the ambition to make universal conquests. The Thirteenth Rock Edict of Ashoka⁷⁰ describes that when King *Devanampriya Priyadarsin* had been anointed eight years (the country of) Kalinga was conquered (by him) and hundred and fifty thousand in number were the men who were deported thence, one hundred thousand in number were those who were slain, and many times as many those who died, clearly proves him as one of the greatest conquerors. The inscriptions of the Guptas provide ample information in regard to the conquest made by them. The Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscription⁷¹ of Samudragupta describes that he had to wage hundred of battles during his life time. It depicts him as "One who was skilful in engaging in a hundred battles of different kinds; whose only ally was the prowess of the strength of his own arm; who was noted for his prowess...; whose most charming body was covered with all the beauty of the marks of a hundred confused wounds, caused by the blows of battle axes, arrows, spears, piles, swords, etc...." The inscription⁷² delineates further that Samudragupta's imperious commands were fully gratified by giving all taxes and obeying his orders by the frontiers kings, kings of south India, republics of *Malavas*, *Arjunayanas*, *Yaudheyas*, *Madrakas*, etc.; offering themselves as sacrifices, bringing presents of maidens, *Garuda* tokens (surrendering) by *Daivaputra*, *Sāhis*, *Shāhānūshāhis*, *Śakas* and *Murundas* and by the people of *Simhala* (Srilanka). He had no antagonist of equal power enemy. The title *Sarvarajochheta* (exterminator of all kings) adopted by

70. E. Hultzsch, *op.cit.*, pp.66-79; *E.I.*, II, pp. 246 ff.

71. J.F. Fleet, *op.cit.*, pp.12-14; Bhandarkar's list No. 1538.

72. *Ibid.*

Samudragupta substantiates the fact that he was a great conqueror.

The Mehrauli Iron Pillar Inscription⁷³ of Chandragupta II, son of Samudragupta describes him as the one "whose arm fame was inscribed by the sword, when, in battle in the Vanga countries he kneaded (and turned) back with (his) breast the enemies who, uniting together, camp against (him), ... he by whom, having crossed in warfare the seven months of the (river) *Sindhu*, the *Vahilikas* were conquered he, by the breezes of whose prowess the southern ocean is even still perfumed."

In the Bhitri Stone Pillar Inscription⁷⁴ of Skandagupta he is described as "one who, when (his) father had attained the skies, conquered (his) enemies by the strength of (his) arm, and established again the ruined fortunes of (his) lineage; and then, crying "the victory has been achieved," betook himself to (his) mother, whose eyes were full of tears with joy, just as Krishna,... who with his own armies, established (again his) lineage that has tottered... (and) with his two arms subjugated the earth... by whose two arms the earth was shaken, when, he the creator (of a disturbance like that) of a terrible whirlpool, joined in close conflict with the *Hunas*.... among enemies.... proclaimed.... just as if it were the roaring of (the river) *Ganga*."

Similarly, the Mandsor Stone Pillar Inscription⁷⁵ of Yashodharman presents him as one of the greatest conquerors before whose chieftains (*Samantas*) bowed down the kings from the neighbourhood of *Lauhitya* (*Brahmaputra* river) to the *Mahendra* (mountain) and from (*Himalaya*) the mountain of snow to the western ocean. The *Madhubana*⁷⁶ and *Banskhera*⁷⁷ Copper Plate Inscriptions of *Harsavardhana* describe his father *Prabhakaravardhana* who assumed the titles of *Parambhattachāraka Mahārājādhirāja*, as the one whose fame crossed the four oceans. He subjugated many kings by means of his valour.

Furthermore, the title 'Chakravartin'⁷⁸ mentioned in the

73. J.F. Fleet, *op.cit.*, p.141; Bhandarkar's list No. 1243; D.C. Sircar, S.I., pp. 283-84; *JRASB*, V, pp. 407-08.

तीर्त्वा सप्त मुखानि येन समरे सिन्धोर्जित। वाहिलका सस्याधायधिवास्यते जलतिर्वाच्चालैदक्षिणः।

74. J.F. Fleet, *op.cit.*, No.13, pp. 55-56.

75. *Ibid.*, No. 33, pp. 148-49; I.A. XVIII, pp. 219 f; Bhandarkar's List No. 1870.

आलीहित्योक्तात्तलवन गह नौ पत्यकादा महेन्द्रादा गङ्गाश्रित सानोस्तु दिन शिखरिणा परिचमादा पयोधः। सामन्तैर्यस्य बाहु द्रविण दूत मदैः पादयोरानमन्दि।

76. *E.I.*, I, No. II, p.72.

77. *E.I.*, IV, No. 29, p.210.

78. *Chakravartin* or *Chakravarti* as described by *Khirasvamin* in 'one who wields lordship over a circle of kings'. Monier William described the term *Chakravartin* in his Sanskrit Dictionary as 'a ruler' of the wheels (*Chakra*) or country explained as extending from sea to sea."

Chakra is mentioned as a special weapon among 14 *Ratnas* in *Paumachariu—Karma* (*Kavacha*), *Chakra*, *Senapati*, *Ratha*, *Gaja*, *Grahapati*, *Chhatra*, *Danda*,

(Continued on p. 12)

inscriptions of Dharsenā-IV⁷⁹ and Alina Copper Plate Inscription⁸⁰ of Siladitya - VII and further the conducting of *Asvamedha* sacrifice stated in the Bilsad Inscription of Kumaragupta-I⁸¹ and the Bihar Stone Inscription of Skandagupta⁸² obviously reveal that the kings of ancient northern India were great warriors and fighters. They had indomitable courage and invincible spirit.

When we turn to literary sources we notice that they mostly support the information given in the inscriptions about ancient Indian kings' desire to conquer the territories of other kings and expansion of their own territory. The *Arthashastra* mentions that Kautilya was a great champion of universal monarchy. As such he regards the acquisition of territory by means of conquest as a laudable aim of any great king. He, therefore, holds the view that a conqueror, well-versed in the science of politics, who acquires territory from enemies gains superiority, and, any ruler who opposes such an attempt deserves to be crushed, whatever might be the cost of the undertaking.⁸³ He further states that there are three kinds of warfare: 1. Open (*Pratyaksa*), 2. treacherous (*Kuta*) and 3. silent (*Tushmin*). According to his view the open warfare consists of threatening, assault, creating confusion in the enemy's rank, and diversionary attack. Treacherous warfare involves keeping up good relations by gifts, etc., and attacking at the same time. Silent warfare is the attempt to win over the officers of enemy.⁸⁴ For getting success in war, enthusiasm, superiority in strength, and skilful diplomacy were regarded as the three great requisites. He states that the arrow shot by an archer may not kill a singleman, but skilful intrigue pursued by wisemen can kill even those who are in the womb.⁸⁵

Bana Bhatta⁸⁶ adds that Prabhakaravardhana was full of great colour and a great conqueror who conducted several warfares during his life time. He (Bana Bhatta) states that the king was a lion to the Huna deer, a burning fever to the king of Sindhu, a

Nametika, Kayanimani, Rathapati, Khada, Purohita. Here *Chakra* is a kind of weapon like *Sudarshana Chakra*, *Swauanabu*; *Paumchariu-Sandhi* 4 *Kavaka*, 6, 11, 12. Another explanation of the term *Chakravartin* is given in the *Vishnu Purana* (BK-I, Ch. XIII, Verse 40. See Halls edition of H.H. Wilson's translation, Vol-I, p.183 and note 1) viz., a discus (*Chakra*) the sign of (the God) *Vishnu* is to be found among the marks on the hands of all *Chakravartins* (and such a ruler is one) whose prowess cannot be withstood even by the God - The word also denotes 'a universal ruler'; J.F. Fleet, *op.cit.*, p.183, fn.4.

79. *JRASBL*, Vol. x, p. 79; *IA*, Vol-1, p.16.

80. J.F. Fleet, *op.cit.*, pp. 180-183.

81. *Ibid.*, p. 42.

82. *Ibid.*, p.47; *Bhandarkar's list* No. 1263.

83. *A.S.*, VII, 10 & 12.

84. *Ibid.*, VII, 6.

85. *A.S.*, X.6.

86. Cowell & Thomas, *op.cit.*, p.101.

disturber of the sleep of Gujara, the bilious fever to Gandhara, a destroyer of the lawlessness of the Latas, axe to the creeper of Malwa's Lakshmi, i.e., for tune or sovereignty....broad paths of his armies seemed to portion out the earth for the support of his dependents....His greatness was made to glow by the fire of his courage.

It is amply clear that the theoretical views of Kautilya and other writers inspired the rulers in ancient times who took it as their first and foremost duty to push back the frontiers of their kingdoms to the maximum limit which added a feather of prestige to their caps. The fact is further testified by the Sukranitisara⁸⁷ which mentions that 50% of the state income was spent on fighting forces, $8\frac{1}{3}\%$ on charity and donations, $8\frac{1}{3}\%$ on civil administration, $8\frac{1}{3}\%$ on the people, $8\frac{1}{3}\%$ on privy purse and $16\frac{2}{3}\%$ was kept as reserve fund (treasury). It shows that a substantial part of the state's income was spent by the king on army administration in order to meet the imperialistic design, while on the other hand the expenditure on civil administration, mass welfare activities, etc. was the minimum. Thus the inscriptions as well as the description in the literature point out that the king in wars made great bloodshed, killing lakhs of innocent people and causing loss of much wealth and property. Waging war to fulfil one's imperialistic designs, therefore, cannot be considered healthy practice now as in those days. But the repercussions of the wars and the aftermath were not the concern of the invaders in general. No mighty king even bothered about the social and economic exploitation of their subjects and of the subjects of the defeated kingdom. The victorious army used to plunder the defeated state to the most alarming degree in addition to imposing heavy war taxes and sexual exploitation of the female subjects of the defeated kingdoms.

Other important officials of military administration

The study of the inscriptions as well as the other sources reveal that the spies, *dutas* and *Mahasandhivigrahika* formed important part of the central administration and, in addition, they had specific duties assigned to them in the military administration too. The sixth Rock Edict of Ashoka⁸⁸ refers that the *Pativedikas* (reporters) should report to the king anywhere and at any time. The first, fourth and seventh pillar edicts⁸⁹ of the same king mention *Purūshas* of three types— high, middle and low, E. Hultzsch equates them with the *Gūdhapurūshas* (secret agents of *Arthasastra*). Thus the spies formed integral part of the

87. *Sukraniti* (tr.) B.K. Sarkar (Sacred Book of the Hindus), Allahabad, 1975, pp. 316-17.

88. E. Hultzsch, *op.cit.*, p.34 ff; *E.I.*, II, p. 454.

89. *Ibid.*, pp. 119, 122 and 130.

army too. They were to supply important information regarding army of the enemy. They, therefore, in several disguises, marched ahead of the army gathering information and spreading disaffection among the enemy troops wherever possible.⁹⁰

Likewise, the *Dutas* formed an important part of the army administration. The 13th Rock Edict of Ashoka⁹¹ mentions the appointments of *Dutas* in frontier states, viz., *Yonas*, *Kambhojas*, *Nabhakas*, *Nabhis*, in southern states—*Colas*, *Pandyas*, *Tamraparni* and in the courts of *Antikini*, *Maka*, *Turmaya*, *Alikasundara*. The *Dutas* for diplomatic relations were appointed and stationed in other countries. Kautilya lays down that besides maintaining diplomatic relations with other states of ancient India and foreign countries, they kept vigil on the military resources and the vulnerable as well as the unassailable aspects of the enemy.⁹² Kamandaka⁹³ says that the *Dutas* should visit the capital and the court of the enemy king on special occasions and collect all kinds of information regarding the strength and equipment of their forts, official secrets, vulnerable points and financial as well as military resources. While sowing seeds of dissensions among friends and relations of the enemy, they should trace out the routes of escape for the army in an exigency.⁹⁴

Inscriptions in vast numbers mention *Sandhivigraha* associated with the military administration in ancient India. The Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscription⁹⁵ mentions Harisena as *Sandhivigraha* in the court of Samudragupta who was expert in the science of politics and poetics. The Udaigiri Cave Inscription⁹⁶ of Chandragupta-II describes Virsenasaba as *Sandhivigraha* who went with the Emperor in the war against the Sakas. The Khoh Copper Plate Inscriptions⁹⁷ (Year 156 & 163) refer to *Sandhivigraha* and *Mahasandhivigraha* respectively. The Majhgawan⁹⁸ Copper Plate Inscription of Hastin, the Palitana Copper Plate of Dharsena,⁹⁹ the Mallasarul Copper Plate Inscription¹⁰⁰ of Bhogcandra refer to *Sandhivigraha* and *Mahasandhivigraha* who were the composers of these inscriptions.

J.F. Fleet¹⁰¹ translates *Sandhivigraha* as an officer for peace and war. K.P. Jayaswal¹⁰² interprets *Sandhivigraha* as Junior

90. A.S., XII, I.

91. E. Hultzsch, *op.cit.*, pp. 66-67.

92. A.S., I.16, 7-9.

93. KNS, 13.5.

94. KNS., 13.24.

95. J.F. Fleet, *op.cit.*, p.16.

96. *Ibid.*, pp. 35-36.

97. *Ibid.*, pp. 100, 105 and 109.

98. *Ibid.*, p. 108.

99. E.I. Xi, pp. 80 ff.

100. D.C. Sircar, *S.I.*, p. 377.

101. J.F. Fleet, *op.cit.*, p.16, fn. 4.

102. K.P. Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, 2nd ed., Bangalore, 1955, pp. 305-06.

Minister and Mahasandhivigrahika as senior Minister of foreign affairs. However, D.C. Sircar¹⁰³ defines *Sandhivigrahika* or *Mahasandhivigrahika* as Minister of war and peace. Thus the descriptions reveal that the *Sandhivigrahika* (Foreign Minister) was proficient in the art of war, science of politics and poetics. He handled the matters connected with the war and peace cautiously and safeguarded the interests of his state as well.

Thus it is evident that besides king, Mahabaladhikrta (*Mahāsenapati* or *Senapati*), *Spies*, *Dutas*, *Sandhivigrahika*, *Gaulmika*¹⁰⁴ *Ayudhagaradhyaksha*, *Ranabhandadhikarna*, *Baladhikarna*,¹⁰⁵ Superintendents of all the four wings of army and navy were the important officers responsible for carrying out the military administration in northern ancient India. But it does not mean necessarily that all of those officials could replace each other in different positions. Different officers may have had specialised knowledge and skill in different areas of military administration. It seems rather difficult, therefore, to agree with H.C. Raychaudhuri¹⁰⁶ who maintains: "As in the case of most of *Pradhanas* of Sivaji there was no clear-cut division between civil and military officials. The same person could be *Sandhivigrahika*, *Kumaramatya* and *Mahadandanayaka*, and a *Mantrin* could become a *Mahābalādhikrta* while the civil officials could hold military ranks and there was usually no separation between the two branches of the state service, for instance, Prithivisena was at first a Minister of Kumaragupta-I and subsequently became a *Mahābalādhikrta*." Such examples are not many. But the inscriptional evidence proves that besides the king, Provincial Governors, Divisional Governors who used to be supreme commanders of their armies by virtue of being the incharge of their territories, the other officials such as *Mahābalādhikrta* (*Mahāsenapati*), *Mahādandanāyaka*, Supdt. of each wing of the army, etc., were appointed only like Generals, Admirals of modern times, keeping in view their specialisation, military competence and qualifications, i.e., the knowledge and experience of warfares, handling of war weapons, diplomacy, etc. These officials from time to time worked in close co-operation under the leadership of the king who was the source of all powers in those days.

103. D.C. Sircar, *S.I.*, p. 268. fn. 1.

104. Vogel translates *Gaulmika* as a military or police officer (IC, XIII, 1946-47, p.117). R.C. Majumdar interprets that *Gaulmika* was the incharge of military squadron called *gulma* which consisted of nine elephants, nine chariots, twenty seven horses and forty five soldiers (R.C. Majumdar, *HB*, Vol.I, pp. 285-86).

105. The seals discovered from Basarah illuminates that the *Baladhikarna* (may be a war office) and *Ranabhandadhikarna* (office of the chief treasurer of the army) were other important units of military administration, B.K. Majumdar, *MSAI*, p. 119.

106. H.C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1953, p.560.

On the basis of our findings we can draw conclusions highlighting some progressive shifts and changes in the military administration.

The study finds out that during the period there was increase in the horizontal and vertical functional division of administrative responsibilities within the military department. The military management and activities as depicted in the inscriptions clearly prove that the administration of the army in the northern states of ancient India was organised systematically, viz., the constitution and composition of the army, multiple types of war weapons, several modes of warfare, designing and constructing of various types of forts and fortresses, etc. However, defects appear to be many as the progressive shifts and changes in the military system.

First, the recruitment procedure based on the hereditary and caste was defective. Though precedents reveal that the persons other than the *Kshatriyas* were not altogether excluded some of them in fact, occupied higher positions in the army. But they were few and far between in number. Notwithstanding, this procedure had made the Indian army weak, inefficient and spiritless resulting in its unsuccessfulness and defeats against the foreign invaders.

Secondly, the inclusion of the armies of the *Srenis*, *Samantas*, *Atvika* troops, *Bhrata* (mercenary troops) and *Dvisadbalam* (troops captured in the wars) into the king's army may have proved fatal as the aforesaid armies were not under the direct control of the king as trained and faithful as the regular army (*Maula*) was. Further this may have led to lack of proper co-ordination among different constituents of the army at the time of war.

Thirdly, conducting of *Asvamedha* and adopting great titles such as *Chakravartin*, *Sarvarajochheta* (exterminator of all the kings), *Maharajadhiraja*, etc., special budgetary provisions and spending out a substantial part of state's income, i.e., 50% on military administration and just 8% amount on public welfare, female exploitation, heavy loss of wealth and property, bloodshed on large scale and killing lakhs of innocent people, all testify to the fact that the territorial expansion and not the public welfare had been the prime motive of the king because physical prowess and war glory were the guiding motto with him during the period.

And finally, as the period under review on defence front demonstrates that battle craft and imperialism and not mass welfare were the goals set by the mighty kings as against the minion states, so peaceful co-existence was impossible in those days and the whole period under study seems to be clouded by the slogan : 'might is right'.

THE COMPILATION OF BHAKTA BANI BY GURU NANAK DEV — A HISTORICAL STUDY: A STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF THE EVIDENCE

RAI JASBIR SINGH*

The *bani* of Bhaktas i.e. Namdev, Ravidas, Kabir, Sheikh Farid is included in *Sri Guru Granth Sahib*, the scripture of the Sikhs. The hypothesis is this that whether the present form of the *Bhakta Bani* is that which is compiled by Guru Nanak, while he was travelling far and wide on *Udasis* in order to spread his faith, or Guru Arjan, while compiling the *Granth*, made changes into it.¹ In another article, we came to the conclusion that Guru Arjan did not make any change in the *bani* of his predecessor Gurus.²

In order to solve the hypothesis we are going to study the language of the works. The language of the Panjab was, first synthetical in nature. As the time passes the synthetical tendency decreases and the analytical tendency increases. Propositions etc. replaces the declension signs. To study it we used statistical method and R.A. Fisher's test³ in order to find variations between the works. For this, samples of the following *banis* (at random) have been taken and the results were compared.

1. Guru Nanak *bani* and Namdev *bani*.
2. Guru Nanak *bani* and Ravidas *bani*.
3. Bhakta Kabir and Guru Nanak *bani*.
4. Bhakta Kabir and Bhakta Namdev *bani*.
5. Sheikh Farid and Guru Nanak *bani*.
6. and Sheikh Farid and Guru Amardas *bani*.

Now follow the test in the above sequences.

* Head, Guru Nanak Dev Studies Department, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar.

1. The question, under discussion was arisen in Dr Piar Singh, *Gatha Sri Adi Granth*, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1992.
2. 'The compilation of Guru *Bani* by Guru Arjan Dev: A Historical Study: A Statistical Analysis of the Evidence' (unpublished article).
3. Guilford, J.P., *Fundamental Statistics in Psychology and Education*, McGraw Hill, New York, 1965, pp. 183-84.

1. Guru Nanak Bani

Pages	No. of Words	No. of D/ Words	Percentage	Square of Percentage
1. Sri, 21, (22)	108	47	43.51	1893.12
2. Gauri, 7(153)	89	36	40.44	1635.35
3. Asa, 16(343)	83	47	56.62	3205.82
4. Wadhans, 2(557)	68	25	36.76	1351.25
5. Suhi, 3(729)	94	46	48.93	2394.14
6. Ramkali, 6(878)	65	29	44.61	1990.05
7. Maru, 2(880)	77	40	51.94	2697.76
8. Bhairon, 2(1125)	85	46	54.11	2927.85
9. Malhar, 1(1254)	77	34	44.15	1949.22
10. Salokas, 2-3(1410)	63	25	39.68	1574.56
			460.45	22619.43
			10	
			= 46.04	

2. Bhakta Namdev Bani

Pages	No. of Words	No. of D/ Words	Percentage	Square of Percentage
1. Asa, 3(485)	58	20	34.48	1188.87
2. Gujari, 1(525)	70	34	48.57	2359.04
3. Sorath, 3(657)	61	34	55.73	3105.83
4. Dhanasari, 1(692)	82	38	46.34	2117.39
5. Todi, 2(718)	42	17	40.47	1637.82
6. Bilawal, 1(857)	32	17	53.12	2821.73
7. Ramkali, 3 (973)	66	25	37.87	1434.13
8. Maru, 1(1005)	96	49	51.04	2605.06
9. Bhairon, 8(1165)	91	35	38.46	1479.17
10. Basant, 1(1195)	48	26	54.16	2933.30
			460.24	21682.33
			10	
			= 46.02	

$$m_1 = 46.04 \quad EX_1^2 = 22619.43$$

$$n_1 = 10$$

$$m_2 = 46.02 \quad EX_2^2 = 21682.33$$

$$n_2 = 10$$

$$t = \frac{m_1 - m_2}{\sqrt{\frac{(EX_1^2 + EX_2^2)}{n_1 + n_2 - 2} \left(\frac{n_1 + n_2}{n_1 \times n_2} \right)}}$$

$$\begin{aligned}
&= \sqrt{\frac{46.04 - 46.02}{(22619.43 + 216820) \frac{(20)}{100}}} \\
&= \sqrt{\frac{00.02}{44301.76}} \times 0.2 \\
&= \sqrt{\frac{00.02}{246120 \times 0.2}} \\
&= \sqrt{\frac{00.02}{492.24}} \\
&= \frac{00.02}{22.18} \\
&= 0.00090
\end{aligned}$$

Bhakta Ravidas Bani and Guru Nanak Bani

Pages	No. of Words	No. of D/ Words	Percentage	Square of Percentage
1. Gauri, 1(345)	73	27	36.98	1367.52
2. Asa, 2(486)	53	29	54.71	2959.81
3. Gujri, 1(525)	60	28	46.66	2177.15
4. Sorath, 6(659)	73	37	50.68	2568.46
5. Dhanasari, 1(694)	48	24	50.00	2500.00
6. Suhi, 3(794)	56	26	46.92	2201.48
7. Ramkali, 1(973)	69	38	55.07	3032.70
8. Maru, 1(1106)	49	20	40.87	1670.35
9. Bhairon, 1(1167)	89	41	46.06	2121.52
10. Basant 1(1196)	92	43	46.73	2183.69
			474.18	22782.68
			10	
			= 47.41	

$$m_1 = 47.41 \quad EX_1^2 = 22782.68$$

$$n_1 = 10$$

$$m_2 = 46.04 \quad EX_2^2 = 22619.43$$

$$n_2 = 10$$

$$\begin{aligned}
t &= \frac{m_1 - m_2}{\sqrt{\frac{(EX_1^2 + EX_2^2)(n_1 + n_2)}{n_1 + n_2 - 2} \cdot \frac{1}{n_1 \times n_2}}} \\
&= \sqrt{\frac{47.41 - 46.04}{\frac{22782.68 + 22619.43}{10 + 10 - 2} \times 0.2}}
\end{aligned}$$

$$\begin{aligned}
 &= \sqrt{\frac{1.37}{45002.11} \times 0.2} \\
 &= \sqrt{\frac{1.37}{2500.11} \times 0.2} \\
 &= \sqrt{\frac{1.37}{500.02}} \\
 &= \frac{1.37}{22.36} \\
 &= 0.06127
 \end{aligned}$$

Bhakta Kabir and Guru Nanak bani

$$\begin{aligned}
 m_1 &= 46.07 & EX_1^2 &= 22990.88 \\
 n_1 &= 10 \\
 m_2 &= 46.04 & EX_2^2 &= 22619.43 \\
 n_2 &= 10
 \end{aligned}$$

$$\begin{aligned}
 t &= \frac{m_1 - m_2}{\sqrt{\frac{(EX_1^2 + EX_2^2)(n_1 + n_2)}{n_1 + n_2 - 2} \times \frac{1}{n_1 \times n_2}}} \\
 &= \frac{0.03}{\sqrt{\frac{22990.88 + 22619.43}{10 + 10 - 2} \times \frac{10 + 10}{10 \times 10}}} \\
 &= \frac{0.03}{\sqrt{\frac{45610.31}{18} \times \frac{20}{100}}} \\
 &= \frac{0.03}{\sqrt{3033.90 \times 0.2}} \\
 &= \frac{0.03}{\sqrt{606.78}} \\
 &= \frac{0.03}{24.63} \\
 &= 0.0012
 \end{aligned}$$

Bhakta Kabir and Bhakta Namdev bani

Pages	No. of Words	No. of D/ Words	Percentage	Square of Percentage
1. Gauri, 3(324)	53	20	37.73	1423.55
2. Asa, 2(475)	83	28	33.73	1137.71
3. Gujri, 2(524)	56	22	39.28	1542.91
4. Sorath, 4(655)	82	39	47.56	2261.95
5. Dhanasari, 4(692)	52	32	61.53	3785.94
6. Suhi, 2(792)	47	19	38.77	1503.11
7. Ramkali, 7(970)	61	34	55.73	3105.83
8. Maru, 9(1105)	52	24	46.15	2129.82
9. Bhairon, 5(1158)	50	22	44.00	1936.00
10. Basant, 2(1193)	64	36	56.25	3164.06
			<u>460.73</u>	<u>22990.88</u>
			<u>10</u>	
			= 46.07	

$$m_1 = 46.07 \quad EX_1^2 = 22990.88$$

$$n_1 = 10$$

$$m_2 = 46.02 \quad EX_2^2 = 21682.33$$

$$n_2 = 10$$

$$\begin{aligned}
 t &= \frac{m_1 - m_2}{\sqrt{\frac{(EX_1^2 + EX_2^2)(n_1 + n_2)}{n_1 + n_2 - 2} \cdot \frac{n_1 \times n_2}{n_1 \times n_2}}} \\
 &= \frac{46.07 - 46.02}{\sqrt{\frac{(22990.88 + 21682.33)(10 + 10)}{10 + 10 - 2} \cdot \frac{10 \times 10}{10 \times 10}}} \\
 &= \frac{0.05}{\sqrt{\frac{(44853.21)}{18} \times \frac{(20)}{100}}} \\
 &= \frac{0.05}{\sqrt{2491.84 \times 0.2}} \\
 &= \frac{0.05}{\sqrt{498.35}} \\
 &= \frac{0.05}{22.32} \\
 &= 0.052
 \end{aligned}$$

Sheikh Farid and Guru Nanak *bani*

Pages	No. of Words	No. of D/ Words	Percentage	Square of Percentage
1. Asa, 1(488)	61	32	52.45	2751.00
2. Asa, 2(488)	111	56	50.45	2545.20
3. Suhi, 1(794)	97	45	46.39	2152.03
4. Suhi, 2(794)	48	20	41.66	1735.55
5. Saloka, 1(1377)	54	23	42.59	1813.90
6. Salokas, 16-19(1378-79)	61	25	40.98	1679.36
7. Salokas, 127-30(1384)	61	28	45.90	2106.81
8. Salokas, 91-94(1382)	60	26	43.33	1877.41
9. Salokas, 6-9(1378)	62	28	45.16	2039.42
10. Salokas, 53-54,56-57 (1380)	61	28	45.90	2106.81

454.51 20808.49

10

= 45.45

$$m_1 = 46.04$$

$$n_1 = 10$$

$$m_2 = 45.45$$

$$n_2 = 10$$

$$EX_1^2 = 22619.43$$

$$EX_2^2 = 20808.49$$

$$\begin{aligned}
 t &= \frac{m_1 - m_2}{\sqrt{\frac{(EX_1^2 + EX_2^2)(n_1 + n_2)}{n_1 + n_2 - 2} \times \frac{1}{n_1 \times n_2}}} \\
 &= \frac{46.04 - 45.45}{\sqrt{\frac{(22619.43 + 20808.49)(10 + 10)}{10 + 10 - 2} \times \frac{1}{10 \times 10}}} \\
 &= \frac{0.59}{\sqrt{\frac{(43427.92)}{18} \times \frac{(20)}{100}}} \\
 &= \frac{0.59}{\sqrt{2412.66 \times 0.2}} \\
 &= \frac{0.59}{\sqrt{482.53}} \\
 &= \frac{0.59}{21.96} \\
 &= 0.026
 \end{aligned}$$

Guru Amar Das bani

Pages	No. of Words	No. of D/ Words	Percentage	Square of Percentage
1. Sri Rag, 3,47(31)	109	97	33.94	1151.92
2. Gauri, 3,31,(161)	72	30	41.66	1735.55
3. Asa, 3,47 (363)	91	33	35.86	1285.93
4. Wadhans, 2,2(558)	80	39	48.75	2376.56
5. Suhi,3, Chhant 1(767)	94	48	51.06	2607.12
6. Ramkali, 3, Anand 30-31(921)	88	35	39.77	1581.65
7. Maru, 3,3(994)	80	36	45.00	2025.00
8. Bhairon, 3,5(1128)	77	41	53.24	2834.45
9. Malhar 3,7(1260)	91	48	52.74	2781.50
10. Salokas, 3,1-4(1413)	77	22	30.13	0907.81
			<u>432.15</u>	<u>19287.53</u>
			<u>10</u>	
			= 43.21	

Sheikh Farid and Guru Amardas bani

$$m_1 = 45.45 \quad EX_1^2 = 20808.49$$

$$n_1 = 10$$

$$m_2 = 43.21 \quad EX_2^2 = 19287.53$$

$$n_2 = 10$$

$$\begin{aligned}
 t &= \frac{m_1 - m_2}{\sqrt{\frac{(EX_1^2 + EX_2^2)(n_1 + n_2)}{n_1 + n_2 - 2} \cdot \frac{n_1 \times n_2}{n_1 + n_2}}} \\
 &= \frac{45.45 - 43.21}{\sqrt{\frac{(20808.49 + 19287.53)(10 + 10)}{10 + 10 - 2} \cdot \frac{10 \times 10}{10 + 10}}} \\
 &= \frac{2.24}{\sqrt{\frac{40096.02}{18} \times \frac{20}{100}}} \\
 &= \frac{2.24}{\sqrt{2227.55 \times 0.2}} \\
 &= \frac{2.24}{\sqrt{445.51}} \\
 &= \frac{2.24}{21.10} \\
 &= 0.106
 \end{aligned}$$

Now, we can see that

The variation between the works is-

A	-	Bhakta Namdev and Guru Nanak	=	0.0090
B	-	Bhakta Ravidas and Guru Nanak	=	0.06127
C	-	Bhakta Kabir and Guru Nanak	=	0.0012
D	-	Bhakta Kabir and Bhakta Namdev	=	0.052
E	-	Guru Nanak and Sheikh Farid	=	0.026
F	-	Sheikh Farid and Guru Amardas	=	0.106

Although the value of t is lesser than the required value (2.262) (if 10 samples have been taken) to show the difference between the period of writing/compilation, yet the variation between A-E & F is significant.

The results show that there is very minor difference between the language of the works. Hence, the *bani* of Kabir, Ravidas and Namdev etc. were compiled by Guru Nanak himself. As far as the Sheikh Farid *bani* is concerned, it seems that Guru Nanak compiled it in his later days. Sheikh Farid *bani* is more closer to the *bani* of Guru Nanak than Guru Amardas, as is depicted from the charts.

While concluding we may say that Guru Nanak himself compiled the Bhakta *bani* and Guru Arjan did not make changes in it at least from the point of view of the language.

EARLY LIFE OF GURU GOBIND SINGH

PROF. KIRPAL SINGH*

The early life of Guru Gobind Singh is very significant as it gives the clues of his genius. Teja Singh has rightly pointed out that "his childhood reflects his inborn greatness."¹ When he was only some months old he manifested his love for all mankind by putting his hands on two pots symbolising the Hindu and Muslims which had been brought by Bhikhan Shah, a Muslim saint. Bhikham Shah belonged to village Siana near Kaithal (Haryana) and according to Bhai Kahn Singh, he went to Patna to test whether the child Guru would favour Hindus or Muslims.²

Gobind Das or Gobind Rai as the Guru was called as child was fortunate to have the mature guidance of his maternal uncle, Kirpal Chand. Kirpal Chand was son of Lal Chand Subhikhi Khatri of Lakhnaur (District Ambala, Haryana) was the real brother of Mata Gujri, wife of Guru Tegh Bahadur, the ninth Sikh Guru. He had started his career as a soldier in the army of Guru Har Rai. He had always been in contact with his brother-in-law and protected him when he was attacked by Sheehan Masand, at Baba Bakala (Distt. Amritsar). He accompanied Guru Tegh Bahadur when he proceeded towards Patna as a treasurer and camp organiser. In the Guru's absence at Patna he was with the family and looked after the child Guru, guided and protected him from the external hazards.

There has been no doubt that the Guru was born at Patna, capital of Bihar as the Guru himself has stated in the *Bachittar Natak*:

My father went East
He visited many places of pilgrimage
When my father came to Treveni
He devoted himself to boundless charities
After getting manifestation
I took my birth at Patna city.⁴

Patna gained importance as the capital of Bihar during the days of Akbar, the Mughal Emperor. The development of the town of Patna synchronised with the rise of Sikhism. Patna has been mentioned as one of the centres of Sikhism by Bhai Gurdas

* 1288, Sector 15-B, Chandigarh.

1. *Guru Gobind Singh Birthday Souvenir*, Patna, 1961, p.63.

2. Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gur Shabad Ratanākar Mahan Kosh*, Patiala, 1930.

3. Harbans Singh, *Encyclopaedia of Sikhism*, Vol.II, Patiala, p.512.

4. *Bachittar Natak*, *Dasam Granth*, Vol.I, Punjabi University, Patiala, p.76.

during the 17th century. It has been mentioned in the *Janam Sikhi* that Guru Nanak visited Patna. But Patna in the first decade of 16th century was in ruins and must have been a very insignificant town. Fortunately, one of the oldest version of Guru Nanak's traditions as incorporated in the *Janam Sakhi* of Meharban written in early sixteenth century, clearly states that Guru Nanak visited Patna-Hajipur (This *Janam Sakhi* had been edited by the writer and published by Khalsa College, Amrisar). This reference gives a significant clue. When the town at the modern site of Patna was in ruins there had been just across the river Ganges, a few miles from Patna a town named Hajipur. It was situated on the eastern bank of Gandak at the short distance above its confluence with the Ganges, opposite Patna. One Haji Illyas alias Sams-ud-din Illyas, king of Bengal, founded Hajipur town between 1345-1358 A.D. and strengthened the town with a large fort, ramparts of which are still visible. Hajipur was the headquarter of the Governor of Bihar in the later Sultanate period (*Muzaffargarh District Gazetteer*, p. 223). Another fact which strengthens the view that Guru Nanak must have visited Hajipur is that the famous Sonapur fair used to be held at Hajipur and Guru Nanak who was known to find his audience in fairs, must have visited Hajipur during the Sonapur fair which is still one of the biggest fairs in this area.⁵

There is no doubt that when Guru Gobind Singh was born his father had gone on the preaching tour towards Assam. It is evident from the various *Hukamnamahs* (letters) of the Guru Tegh Bahadur preserved at Patna. In one of the letters, he wrote "I have left my family at Patna." In another letter he wrote "congregation has spent money on the birth of Gobind Dass."⁶ The later *Hukamnamah* is not dated.

Date of birth controversy

The traditional and accepted date of birth of Guru Gobind Singh is Saturday, Poh Shudi 7, 1723 B.K. viz. Dec. 22, 1666 A.D. This date has been recorded by Bhai Sukha Singh in his *Gurbilas* (Language Deptt., 1989) vide p. 34. In *Gurbilas*, Koer Singh also recorded this date to be the birth date of the Tenth Guru. All authorities agree that the Guru was born on Poh Shudi 7. Bhai Kahn Singh in his *Mahankosh* has recorded this date but some writers have stated that the Guru was born on Poh Shudi 7 Sambat 1718 B.K. viz Dec. 18, Wednesday, 1661 A.D. One of the protagonists of this date is Gulab Singh of Nirmala order who has recorded this date in his *Gurparnali* (vide *Gurparnali*, Gulab Singh in *Gurparnalian* - Randhir Singh, p. 199). *Bansawalinama* Kesar

5. See, 'Patna Collection of Hukamnamahs' in *Guru Gobind Singh, The Saviour*, New Delhi, 1969, p.88.

6. *Ibid.*, pp.89-90.

Singh Chhibber (Singh Brothers, Amritsar, p. 125) also gives this date. If we accept the former date viz. 1666 A.D. then Guru Gobind Singh's age at the time of martyrdom of his father was 9 years. If we accept later date viz. 1661 A.D. then the age of Guru Gobind Singh at the time of his father's martyrdom was fourteen years. Several English authors like J.D. Cunningham and Mohammad Latif have stated that Guru Gobind Singh at the time of his father's martyrdom was of fifteen years of age. The others writers have followed them without formally committing themselves to the date of birth of Guru Gobind Singh.

When the Sikh history research started, S. Karm Singh who was considered a pioneer of Sikh history research, wrote one monograph *Gurpurb Nirnay* which was published in Patiala in 1912 A.D. He has stated therein that two dates of birth of Guru Gobind Singh had been prevalent but more acceptable date is of 1666 A.D. which he has recorded in his book *Gurpurb Nirnay*, p. 172.

The discovery of *Bhatt Vahis* by Giani Garja Singh has brought all notice dates which were connected with Sikh Gurus and recorded by various Bhattas. *Guru Kian Sakhian* by Sarup Singh Koshish (1790 A.D.) has also been published. It gives Guru Gobind's date of birth corresponding to 1661 A.D. Based on *Bhatt Vahis* a new book entitled "*Correct Date of birth of Sri Guru Gobind Singh*" has been brought out by G.B. Singh and D.R. Narang. The authors have argued at length that the correct date of birth of Guru Gobind Singh was Dec. 18, 1661 A.D. Their main argument is that *Panda Vahis* and *Bhatt Vahis* give in detail the travels of Guru Tegh Bahadur. According to this date Guru Tegh Bahadur visited Patna twice - 1661 A.D. and 1666 A.D. The supporting dates of Guru Tegh Bahadur's visit to Allahabad and Banaras have been discovered from *Panda Vahis* - from this data the year of 1661 appears to be correct.

With march of times a new problem has risen. The Sikhs who have been dispersed throughout the world want SGPC Amritsar to fix one date as birthday of the Tenth Master - just as Christ's birthday has been fixed to be 25th December, which could be celebrated all over the world. Accordingly SGPC is preparing *Khalsa Calendar* which has fixed 5th January as the birth date of Tenth Master. Pal Singh Purewal from Canada is persuading SGPC to adopt the new calendar leaving the Bikrami one which has outlived its utility. He has prepared *Khalsa Jantri* which is being published by SGPC Amritsar. According to this *Jantri*, 5th January has been fixed as Guru Gobind Singh's birthday.

Stay At Patna

Guru Gobind Singh's stay at Patna has been commemorated by a number of Gurdwaras associated with the anecdotes of his

childhood. *Gurdwara Maini Sangat* is just near Takhat Harmander Sahib which commemorates the birth place of the Guru. Fateh Chand Maini was a devout Sikh of Guru Tegh Bahadur and he used to serve the child with *Puris* and cooked grams when the child Guru used to visit his house while playing with other children.⁷ Uptil this day, they served cooked gram as *parsad*.

A new Gurdwara has been erected on the bank of the river Ganges where the child Guru used to bathe and lost his two golden bangles. The Gurdwara is known as Kangan Sahib.

From his earliest years Gobind Rai was accustomed to practice shooting with pellet-bow and organise a company of boys of his own age to practice with him.⁸

Stay At Lucknow

On return from Assam, Guru Tegh Bahadur met his family at Patna and remained there for sometime. Subsequently he left for Punjab instructing the family to follow him. Guru Tegh Bahadur's mother Nanaki, Gobind Rai and his mother Gujri, her brother Kirpal Chand with other Sikhs set out for Punjab. The first place where he stayed on his route was Chhota Mirzapur near Banaras. After spending some days he proceeded to Ayodhya and from Ayodhya (Allahabad) he went to Lucknow and reached Lakhnaur.⁹

Stay At Lakhnaur

Lakhnaur is at a distance of four miles from Ambala Cantt. had been the native place of Lal Chand, the father of Mata Gujri, wife of Guru Tegh Bahadur. There Gobind Rai stayed about six months. It is therefore important to mention the historical importance of the town and details of Guru's stay there. According to Alexander Cunningham Lakhnaur's old name was Kameshwar which had been the place of pilgrimage. It appears it was destroyed and in its debris Lakhnaur was founded.¹⁰ When Gobind Rai reached Lakhnaur Guru Tegh Bahadur sent a message that the family should stay at Lakhnaur until he called them to Anandpur. Here the Guru's family stayed with Jetha Masand, *Bhatt Vahi*, *Taluda Pargana Jind* has stated.

In 1727 Bikrami, Asu Shudi 9, 13th September 1670 A.D. Gobind Rai visited the House of Mehar Chand (the elder brother of Kirpal Chand) Subhikhi Khatri. Mehar Chand performed *Sarwana* on the Dussehra day and got Gobind Rai dressed in green dress.¹¹ It implies that the family reached Lakhnaur in

7. Bhai Kahn Singh, *Mahankosh*.

8. M.A. Macauliffe, *Sikh Religion*, Vol.IV, Delhi, 1963, pp.360-61.

9. *Ibid*.

10. *Sikh Itihas De Vishesh Pakh*, Amritsar, 1995, p.194.

11. *Ibid.*, p.196.

1670 A.D. At Lakhnaur, Gobind Rai engaged himself in various types of military exercises of horse-riding, use of weapons as the Sikhs of this area presented him horses and weapons. Here again Bhikhan Shah, who had gone to Patna and has already been mentioned once again came to see the child Gobind Rai. One more Pir Arif also came to see him at Lakhnaur.¹²

Since Guru stayed at Lakhnaur for a number of months he visited the following adjoining areas where historic Gurdwaras have been built to commemorate his visits. All these Gurdwaras have been recorded by Pandit Tara Singh Narotam.

1. Rana Majra : about 15 miles north of Lakhnaur.
2. Sular Gram : About 10 miles north of Lakhnaur.
3. Mardogram : Four miles from Lakhnaur.

Besides these places Gobind Rai visited Ambala City, Bhano Kheri.¹³

When Gobind Rai received message from Guru Tegh Bahadur he proceeded to Anandpur alongwith other members of the family. According to *Bhatt Vahi* quoted above Gobind Rai hold with his partner at Anandpur for about five years.

Stay At Anandpur

According to *Bhatt Vahi Taluda*, Gobind Rai appears to have arrived at Anandpur at the age of five years as in the year 1671 A.D. and he visited his maternal uncle's house at Lakhnaur as already has been mentioned.¹⁴ These five years were crucial in the history of India. Aurangzeb, the Mughal emperor had reimposed zazy and in 1669 A.D. he "ordered to demolish all the schools and temples of infidels and to put down their religious teaching and practices."¹⁵ His policy was to convert Hindus en-mass. This policy was more vigorously pursued in Kashmir. So the Kashmiri Brahmins under the leadership of Kirpa Ram who was the direct descendant of Mai Das who had a lengthy discourse with Guru Nanak (vide *Sakhi* No. 49 - a *Puratan Janam Sakhi*)- reached Guru Tegh Bahadur for help.¹⁶ The Guru became concerned, began to reflect over this problem. When young Gobind Rai found his father in reflective mood, asked the cause of his seriousness. Talking tenderly to his son he told the problem of Kashmiri Pandits. According to Koer Singh *Gurbilas*, Guru Tegh Bahadur told young Gobind Rai that one great and noble man was needed to make the supreme sacrifice to alleviate their sufferings. Gobind Rai innocently remarked, "for that purpose who is more worthy, than you."¹⁷ The Guru felt

12. *Ibid.*, 1978.

13. *Ibid.*, pp.199-200.

14. *Sikh Itihas de Vishesh Pakh*, p.196.

15. Ishwari Prasad, *A Short History of Muslim Rule in India*, Allahabad, 1965, p.607.

16. Sarup Singh Kaushik, *Guru Kian Sakhian* (ed.), Piara Singh Padam, Patiala, 1986, p.72.

17. *Ibid.*

encouraged from his young son's reply and prepared himself to make the supreme sacrifice. Subsequently Guru Gobind Singh has mentioned this sacrifice in the *Bachittar Natak*.¹⁸

In this way Guru Gobind Singh's early life is not only significant but eventful also.

18. *Encyclopaedia of Sikhism*, Vol.II, p.88.

THE AIMS AND ACTIVITY OF GURU GOBIND SINGH

GURBACHAN SINGH NAYYAR*

The 'kaleidoscopic' personality of Guru Gobind Singh presents a varied pattern. His divine glow has ever been considered indispensable and unique. Having thoroughly studied the contemporary society and the distant past, he diagnosed the disease which was crippling the then existing social set up to which he himself experienced, thereafter giving it an appropriate and typical treatment. The remedy suggested by this great son of India not only nourished the body social of the contemporaries but also their very soul, making both full of energy and zeal. The legacy is quite visible in the institution of the *Khalsa* created on the Baisakhi of 1699, the most memorable historic day, the tricentenary of which was celebrated throughout the world in the year 1999.

It is not easy to characterise the aims and activity of Guru Gobind Singh. Though he had primarily religious objects in view yet his activity was not merely religious in the ordinary sense of the word. It had some significant political implications although he did not formulate any political programme. From the use of arms in defence, to rise in arms against the 'unjust' Mughal authority of the times was only a step. He did not directly challenged the political authority of either the Rajput Chiefs of the Punjab hills or that of the Mughal sovereigns. Of course, come what may, he was not prepared to accept their authority also. His programme was, nevertheless religious, and if and when the authorities clashed with it, he strongly reacted, resorting to arms. He does not seem to have considered himself a subject of either the Hill Chiefs or the Mughals. Rather he was not prepared to identify himself with the contemporary states which at best were irrelevant to his programme and at worst were his antagonists. He was to fight for the sake of *dharma*, struggle for creating righteousness and the call from within had to be satisfied if necessary with the use of arms. But all this was to spring from a religious impulse, from the decision to consecrate one's life to the defence of a faith. Guru Gobind Singh refused to compromise with Bahadur Shah on the issue of Anandpur Sahib and to reconcile himself to its loss.

* Formerly Professor and Head, Department of Punjab Historical Studies.

It is quite understandable that within a year of his death, the *Khalsa* of Guru Gobind Singh rose in arms against Bahadur Shah's regime. What is more, they established their sovereign power under Banda Bahadur's leadership. Eventually the first Sikh State was born within two years of Guru Gobind Singh's demise in October 1708. The Guru did not choose a successor and personified himself in the *Panth* and the *Granth*. He had authorised the five beloved ones to administer *Pahul* to as many followers as they wished. The natural outcome of all this was that in the forthcoming period of conflict of the *Khalsa* with the Mughal authorities and the Afghans, the Sikhs assembled together in the form and shape of the *Dal Khalsa* and adopted *gurmata*s which in the long run resulted in the emergence of the Misdari System and the regime of the Misls. This, however, did not last long and a dominating personality in the name of Maharaja Ranjit Singh emerged on the political scene who ruled from 1799 to 1839 covering a tangible stage in the history of the Sikhs.

Such were the mysterious circumstances and events of history in the garb of which Guru Gobind Singh's pontificate has been wrongly presumed as political. This issue needs to be probed.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar holds that Guru Gobind Singh transformed the Sikhs into 'mere soldiers.'¹ A British writer argues that Guru Gobind Singh made religion a stepping stone to political power: his aim was the formation of a formidable confederacy of the Sikhs and the destruction of the 'Muhammadan power' in the Punjab.² Gokal Chand Narang opines that the Guru added the sentiment of 'nationalism' to religion.³ A present day writer observes that Guru Gobind Singh's aim was to go far beyond the position of Guru Hargobind and to establish a 'parallel government.'⁴ An early nineteenth century British writer regards Guru Gobind Singh as the founder of political independence.⁵ A modern historian regards that Guru Gobind Singh infused political consciousness in the Sikhs to knit them together into a national brotherhood to defend the religion and the country.⁶ All these views underline the relevance of Guru Gobind Singh to Sikh polity in one way or another.

It is quite in the fitness of things to analyse the whole situation from the very beginning of Guru Gobind Singh's career. Guru Tegh Bahadur's martyrdom took place in 1675 by the orders of Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb who had come to adopt a hostile policy against all non-Muslims as the champion of Sunni

1. Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.III, Calcutta, 1928, p.303.

2. A.H. Bingley, *Sikhs*, Patiala, 1970 (reprint), pp.21-22.

3. Gokal Chand Narang, *Transformation of Sikhism*, Lahore, 1946, p.130.

4. Teja Singh, *Essays in Sikhism*, Lahore, 1941, p.95.

5. Sir John Malcolm, *Sketch of the Sikhs*...., London, 1812, p.75.

6. Ganda Singh, *A Brief Account of the Sikh People*, Patiala, 1956, p.30.

Islam. On account of the sense of identities, a section of the Muslims of the times believed in the vigorous campaigns of conversion of the non-Muslims who even believed in one Almighty like them through other religious paths, such as the Vedic philosophy had came earlier. The process had commenced from the days of Mohammed Bin Qasim in 712 A.D. and Aurangzeb was a staunch believer of this policy with fanatic faith.

In his *Bachittar Natak* Guru Gobind Singh refers to his father's self-fought sacrifice when he writes :

God protected the *tilk* and *janju* and performed a much memorable act in the *Kalyuga*, doing so much for the holy men as to give up his life without a groan. He did this for the sake of *dharma*.

He chose to sacrifice his life rather than to betray God.⁷

Guru Tegh Bahadur's self sacrifice for extending protection to the Hindus is what is often interpreted of these lines. This attitude of Guru Gobind Singh is extremely important because of the simple reason that these were written on the eve of the institution of the Khalsa.⁸ Whatever Guru Gobind Singh's initial reaction to the martyrdom of his father, in due course he came to applaud the role of Guru Tegh Bahadur as the supreme defender of *dharma*. In the course of time Guru Gobind Singh had a religious objective in mind as the legitimate successor of the *gaddi* of Guru Nanak. He was divinely inspired to raise the holy, to caste down the wicked and to emancipate mankind from fear. He was directed by God to make widely known his *panth* to guide the people on the right path of his worship. His aim is quite evident from the *Bachittar Natak* : the sole aim for which God had sent him to this world was to spread *dharma* and to prevent people from doing evil deeds. In the words of the Guru himself God directed him thus :

I cherish you as My son and I have created you to extend the *panth*.⁹

The Guru illucidated his aim in the words:

For this task have I come to this world,
and the Divine Guru has sent me for the
sake of *dharma* with the injunction to spread
the faith everywhere and to subdue the evildoers.
I clarify to the pious that I have taken
birth for promulgating *dharma* and raising the
holy and casting out the evil doers from their
very roots.¹⁰

7. *Bachittar Natak*, Amritsar, 1968, 46; cf. M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Oxford, 1909, Vol.V, p.295.

8. The composition of *Bachittar Natak* is often placed in 1697-98 and the Khalsa was instituted in the year 1699.

9. *Bachittar Natak*, pp. 51-52; cf. Macauliffe, *op.cit.*, p.299.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 54; cf., *Ibid.*, pp.300-01.

As a matter of fact, Guru Gobind Singh aimed at upholding righteousness and destroying evil from within and without. In more specific terms he concentrated on protecting the *dharma* enunciated by Guru Nanak Dev himself. The experience of his immediate predecessor and that of his own suggested that there was a lurking danger of interference from outside.¹¹ Hence his basic problem was to motivate his followers for meeting aggression from whichever quarter it might come. Though initially his conflict was with some of the Rajput Chiefs in the Punjab hills, his struggle with the representatives of the Mughal Emperor was more serious and potentially more dangerous. As it is, after a good deal of thought he decided to make the wearing of arms and armaments a religious duty for his disciples. This was, nevertheless, one of the result of the institution of the *Khalsa* in 1699. The inner urge to safeguard the inherent faith had to be given first preference. The patriotic feelings were kindled. Traders, banias, shopkeepers, peasants who were not acquainted at all with war took up sword at the behest of Guru Gobind Singh.

Even before the year 1699, the use of arms had been advocated and made of practical use by the Guru. Anyhow, this injunction for the *Khalsa* has to be considered in the very context of Guru Gobind Singh's conception of God. At one place the Guru addresses God as :

The arrow and the bow are you
the shield and the sword are you
They all attain to salvation who worship you.¹²
Guru Gobind Singh clearly addresses God as 'all steel.'
All steel, I am your slave.¹³

In reality, Guru Gobind Singh attributes might to God through the use of ordinary names of weapons. In fact, he is thinking of the divine force as the instrument of the Almighty justifying the use of physical might in the cause of righteousness. It is important, thus, that the *Bachittar Natak* contains the idea :

To wear the sword is to absolve oneself of a million sins. The indissoluble link of virtue with the rise of force is implicitly portrayed in an impressive manner :

May this be your blessings upon me that
I never swerve from good actions.
May I fight fearlessly and with confidence in victory.
If my end approaches, may I breath my last fighting
in the battle field.¹⁴

11. J.S. Grewal, & S.S. Bal, *Guru Gobind Singh (A Biographical Study)*, Chandigarh, 1967, pp.103-04.

12. *Dasam Granth*, p.717.

13. *Ibid.*; Macauliffe, *op.cit.*, pp.310-11.

14. *Ibid.*

Treading upon the path envisaged by Guru Nanak, Guru Gobind Singh preached brotherhood of mankind and fatherhood of God, the Almighty. Guru Nanak had said :

*Awal Allah noor upaya kudrat ke sabh bande
Ik noor te sabh jag upjeya kon bhale kon mande.*

Thus, for Guru Gobind Singh difference in the mode of worship is futile. In *Akal Ustat*, the Guru argues :

*Dehra Masit soi, pooja oau niwaj ohi,
Manas sabhai ek pai anek ko bharmao hai
Devta adev jach, gandharb, Turk, Hindu.
Niare niare desan ke bhes ko parbhao hai
Eke nain, eke kaan, eke deh eke baan
Khak, bad, atash oau aab ko ralao hai
Allah Abekh soi, Puran oau Quran ohi
Ek hi saroop sabhai, ek hi banao hai.¹⁵*

Sainapat, the earliest interpreter of Guru Gobind Singh's mission who had spent a number of years with the Guru, presents his aim primarily in religious terms. The purpose of creating the *Khalsa* is clearly delineated by Sainapat :

The *Khalsa* has been created to annihilate
the wicked and the sinful and to remove
all adversity.¹⁶

In the opinion of Sainapat the *Khalsa* were bound to fulfil this purpose building upon unshakable foundations. At no place does he attribute any political motive to Guru Gobind Singh. Further more, Sainapat looks upon the institution of the *Khalsa* primarily as a matter of internal reform. By means of creating the *Khalsa*, the Guru established a direct link with his disciples putting an end to the undesirable agency of the *masands*. In Sainapat's words the *masands* were removed and everyone was made a *Khalsa*. The *Khalsa* was forbidden to hand over their voluntary contributions to the *masands* but to fetch their offerings personally to the Guru's presence. Sainapat's statement is borne out fully by some of the *hukamnamas* of Guru Gobind Singh himself. The denunciation of the *masands* is well known.

It is evident that Guru Gobind Singh's objective in instituting the *Khalsa* was to recapitulate the religion of Guru Nanak and to meet any challenge of interference presented to the Sikh faith.¹⁷ The use of arms did not necessarily imply a political programme.

It goes without saying that to the outsider the activity of Guru Gobind Singh appeared to be fraught with danger as it seemed to be inspired by motives of revenge and earthly ambition. Even before 1699, the Guru had participated in battles. In 1688 he

15. *Akal Ustat*.

16. Sainapat, *Sri Gur Sobha* (ed. Ganda Singh), Patiala, 1967, p.21.

17. J.S. Grewal & S.S. Bal, *op. cit.*, p.126.

had fought against the chief of Garhwal on the borders of the Sirmour State. He had built fortress at Anandpur Sahib on the borders of the Kahlur State. Around 1690, he had personally taken part in the battle of Nadaun against the *faujdars* of the Mughal Government. The great gathering at Anandpur Sahib in 1699 and the injunction of wearing arms seemed to give an unmistakable proof of the political designs of the Guru which was evidently to put the authorities to dubious thinking. The conflict of the *Khalsa* with the hill chiefs and Mughals, evacuation of Anandpur Sahib and the pursuit of the *Faujdar* of Sarhind are well known.

The stand taken by Guru Gobind Singh at this juncture is embodied in his *Zafarnama*.¹⁸ He neither confesses any fault nor surrounds unconditionally to the Emperor. He is open for discussion through a personal meeting. The Guru lays the charge of perfidy against the officials of the Emperor. He charges Aurangzeb himself with the misuse of his might. He points out the injustice of supporting the hill chiefs without any regard to the causes involved in the conflict. He asserts his firm belief in the justness of his cause which is religious and not political. In this context, he uses the often quoted argument 'when all other alternatives fail, it is lawful to resort to the sword.'

For several years Guru Gobind Singh remained in possession of Anandpur Sahib and did not pay any tribute or rent to any temporal authority. For sometime his armed *Khalsa* was able to lay contributions on the neighbouring villages. Fortresses had been constructed at Anandpur Sahib and the use of muskets was also resorted to. All these developments give the impression of a political design. But this is simply one side of the picture. Guru Gobind Singh never declared himself as an autonomous ruler or a vassal of any temporal authority. He did not conquer any territory, he struck no coins, he had no legal or administrative system in any strict sense of these terms and therefore, cannot be said to have established a Government or a State. He struggled throughout his career to lift the down trodden humanity and emancipate mankind from slavery... religious as well as political.

18. Guru Gobind Singh, *Zafarnama* (A well known letter written to Emperor Aurangzeb).

THE CHANDI CHARITAR- AN ANALYSIS

JASWANT KUMAR SHARMA*

Guru Gobind Singh, the Tenth and the last Sikh Guru (1666-1708) combined in him the rare qualities of a great literary genius, a saint and a soldier. He accomplished in a short span of some 42 years of his life, what none else could imagine to achieve. His life is a story of a long drawn struggle against rulers' tyranny and social inequalities. The creation of the Khalsa by him on the Baisakhi day at Anandpur in 1699 is a great milestone in the history of Sikhism and humanity. His early death coupled with his frequent wanderings from one place to the other during the last years of his life, resulted in his inability to collect his writings and those of his poets, etc. in the shape of a single book or books. Obviously, the task was left for the succeeding generations of the faithful. Thus, after collecting the Guru's writings and the scattered writings and translations of the Puranas and other old popular works by a band of his 52 poets, bards and translators, Bhai Mani Singh, a close associate and a friend of the Guru, was able to compile the *Granth* of the Guru in 1734, which is entitled as the *Dasham Granth*. Since it was compiled some 26 years after the death of the last Guru, doubts are cast on the actual authorship of many of its portions. Interestingly, the authenticity of the various writings attributed to the Guru, was seriously doubted even during the time of Bhai Mani Singh. Even if the Guru had not written himself a part or most of it, it seems to have contained his tacit approval, since it was compiled by those persons to whom he extended his patronage at one time or the other. The various works were compiled in stages perhaps at Anandpur (Sahib), and Paonta (Sahib) which were or are the parts of the present state of Himachal Pradesh. It establishes the Guru as a great linguist, because he gives sufficient evidence of his proficiency in Sanskrit, Hindi (Braj), Persian and Punjabi languages. While no single convincing reason can be attributed to the creation of the Second Granth for the Sikhs or the Khalsa and the *Dasham Granth* certainly signify the origin of political consciousness among the Sikhs, and pave the way for the establishment of the sovereignty of the Khalsa in the subsequent period. It is quite interesting to point out that the Sikhs took pride in giving credit for their each success to the Tenth Guru after the death of the latter.

* Professor, Department of History, Panjab University, Chandigarh.

The *Dasham Granth* provides a considerable space to the description of the warlike qualities and successes of the goddess Durga or Chandi against the demons, her principal adversaries. The major works relating to the goddess cover some 54 pages of the *Granth* (pp. 74-127), and they are given as under :

- (i) *Chandi Charitar Ukti Bilas* (or *Chandi Charitar-I*, pp.74-99);
- (ii) *Chandi Charitar-II* (pp. 100-119); and
- (iii) *Chandi di Var* (or *Var Shree Bhagauti Ji Ki*, pp. 119-127).

While the first two works are in Braj dialect, the last work is in Punjabi. But all are written in Gurmukhi script. Though they are taken mostly from the *Markandeya Purana* (the second work also adds the *Bhagavata Purana* as its source), the first work indicates the complete reliance on the former *Purana* (chapters 78-89), with certain variations here and there. However, it gives a somewhat cohesive account which goes well in conformity with its principal source. But the last two works make some significant departure in the sense that they make an open deviation from their principal sources, for it is quite difficult to connect them with the texts from which they are borrowed, at many places. The second work gives prominence to Durga's wars with the demons, hence there is shown little or no concern for its main textual sources. Similarly, the third work is quite sketchy, since it gives a mere summary of the *Durga Saptashati*. Thus, the *Chandi Charitar-I* alone provides some welcome opportunities to present it in the light of the description of the *Markandeya Purana*, because it remains linked up with its textual description very closely. The inclusion of the last two works may create difficulties in making some good generalizations.

The historians and scholars working on the *Dasham Granth* make the following observations about the *Chandi Charitar-I*:

- (i) it is a mere translation of the *Markandeya Purana*;
- (ii) it contains the stories of Durga or Chandi as given in chapters 81-90 of the *Purana*;
- (iii) doubts are raised about its actual authorship; and
- (iv) that Durga was the sole conqueror on all the occasions.

However, the study of the relevant portions of the *Markandeya Purana* indicates doubtlessly that no serious attempt seems to have been made to make a comparative study of the two works. If it was made actually, such generalizations would not have been made. Firstly, the poet uses complete freedom in expressing the various episodes of the *Purana*. He also incorporates his own ideas and experiences in the light of contemporary requirements at a number of places. Obviously, the poem of Chandi is not the complete translation of the *Purana*. Secondly, it is absolutely wrong to assign chapters 81-90 of the *Purana* to the story of Chandi. Actually, the *Purana*'s chapters 78-89 have been used as the source-material for *Chandi Charitar-I*. This reflects casual

approach in earlier writings. Thirdly, there is a controversy still going on about its authorship. But the fact that the word "Patshahi-10" is written at the beginning of *Chandi Charitar-I*, it leaves hardly any room for further speculation. Fourthly, Durga was not the sole saviour for the gods. While the first battle for the gods was won by Vishnu, the second and the third were won by Durga.

This requires that we should make a fresh scrutiny of the two works. An attempt is being made in the present paper to present a study of the *Chandi Charitar-I*, vis-à-vis the relevant chapters of the *Markandeya Purana* in order to determine the former's correspondence and difference with the latter.

The *Chandi Charitar-I* contains 233 verses and is divided into eight chapters, the last chapter being the smallest one.¹ It acknowledges faithfully its textual source, the *Markandeya Purāna*, at the end of each chapter. It is perhaps for this reason that the poet endeavours to reproduce the Puranic story in its entirety, as far as possible. The corpus of the entire three-tier Puranic stories of the gods' and the Devi's protracted battles with the demons go well in correspondence with the Purana. The hero of the first god-demon battle is Vishnu. But the heroine of the second and third battles with the demons is Durga. The third story covers the largest space of *Chandi Charitar-I* (from chapter III to VIII). It projects Durga as a great warrior, and it is perhaps due to this reason that it gives the maximum space (verses 54-233) for her exploits. This third story of Durga's conquest of the demons Shumbh and Nishumbh is given from chapters 82-89 of the Purana.

The Purana and the *Chandi Charitar-I* call the demons' army as the *Chaturangini Sena* (the four-fold army).² This four-fold division of the army consisted of infantry, chariot, cavalry and elephant.

Durga appears on the scene on two different occasions as the saviour of the gods. The latter are reinstated to their lost divine

1. There is an unending controversy going on regarding the authorship of three works on Chandi. Many scholars are disinclined to attribute them to the Guru on the ground that he could not write on such themes. Leohlin thinks that the third work alone was the creation of the Guru. See, C.H. Leohlin, *The Granth of Guru Gobind Singh and The Khalsa Brotherhood*, Lucknow Publishing House, Lucknow, 1971, p.33. His contention is that the words "Patshahi - 10" appear in the third work alone. But he does not seem to be correct, since the above words appear in beginning of the first work on Chandi also. Many writers of Guru Gobind Singh and his *Dasam Granth*, such as Giani Sardul Singh, Bhai Bishan Singh, Tirlochan Singh, Dharam Pal Ashta etc., associate the authorship of the entire *Dasam Granth* to the tenth Guru, see, Rattan Singh Jaggi & Gursharan Kaur Jaggi, *Sri Dasam Granth, Path Sampadan ate Viakhia*, Vol. I, Gobind Sadan, New Delhi, 1999, pp. VIII & IX; Rattan Singh Jaggi discusses this debate in details in his earlier work also, entitled: *Dasham Granth Ki Pauranik Prishthabhumii*, Delhi, 1965.

2. *Chandi Charitar-I*, II. 30 ; III. 58, 94; IV. 108; *Markandeya Purana* 79,40.

kingdom with her ungrudging and timely support. She is always selfless, tireless and brave. The gods fled in every crisis, but it is the goddess who helped the installation of Indra and restored peace and plenty to the gods. It is her *dharmayudha* against the demons.³ Her resolve to reinstate the gods in their lost heavenly kingdom emanates not from her desire to exterminate all demons, rather it is on their refusal to return the gods' territories. War remains the last resort in all occasions. The gods are never the aggressors. They become the victims of aggression of the demons time and again. The latter humiliated the gods, they threatened their very existence. Durga came to the god's rescue with a view to help the needy. She did not have any territorial ambitions, nor did she want to make any political mileage out of it. She disappeared from the scene immediately after her crowning successes. All that she wanted to do was to teach the aggressors a lesson, and this she actually did. Since this coincided with the Guru's programme, the latter gave precedence to the story of Chandi. The Guru was opposed to the aggressors and the oppressors, so was the goddess of Chandi. "Instead of rejecting folk tales and myths out of hand he reinterpreted them, hoping to wean those who had been brought up in them from the old traditions to the ideals of Sikhism."⁴ The battles of Durga also signify good and evil, which has remained the hall-mark of Indian political thought. It has also been suggested by some scholars that the Durga being an incarnation of divine power, as symbolized by the Sword; and that the Guru invoked *Bhagauti's* (sword's) aid in the cause of deliverance to which he was called, and so he founded the Khalsa Panth.⁵

Durga is portrayed as a captivating beauty. In fact, it is her dazzling beauty, which became the cause of her long drawn war with Shumbh, the demon king.⁶

The plots of the stories of *Chandi Charitar-I* continue to be 'heroine' dominated throughout. She always remain at the centre-stage of all activities, may be it is battle or worship. Was it due to the impact of Shakti Worship, which was widely prevalent in the Punjab hills in those days? Or due to the prevailing war like conditions of Guru Gobind Singh's time? Was it because the war was a favourite subject of the Guru's writings? Various explanations can be put forth to the above pertinent questions. The stories of Durga's exploits were likely to inculcate the spirit

3. Taran Singh, *Dasam Granth - Roop te Ras*, Gobind Singh Foundation, Chandigarh, 1967, p.109.

4. W. Owen Cole & Piara Singh Sambhi, *Sikhism, Beliefs and Practices*, New Delhi, 1999, pp. 56-57.

5. Dharam Pal Ashta, *The Poetry of the Dasam Granth*, Delhi, 1959, p.53.

6. *Chandi Charitar-I*, III.88; Guru Gobind Singh also describes the Devi's beauty in *Akal Ustat*, verse 79.

of sacrifice. By arising the feelings of war, the Guru was definitely striving to prepare the multitudes for challenging oppression. The exploits of the Devi were the favourite subject among the people, and the Guru aimed at translating it.

It is true that Durga-demons' battles are generally dominated by the exploits of the former. But there are other descriptions also, like, when both Durga and her tiger are seriously injured in the battle. The demons are also not marginalised. They are given sufficient space.

However, there is difference in the texts of the two works. The poet incorporates the subjects of his own preferences at many places. There are attempts to shorten the Puranic text also, in order to present a cohesive account. Then the poet may not have liked some stereo-typed Puranic descriptions also. This makes the *Chandi Charitar-I* slightly different from the text of that of the *Markandeya Purana*. But it is done so brilliantly that the basic structure of the epic story of Chandi does not get disturbed. The poet uses the freedom of his literary excellence.

The opening stanza of *Chandi Charitar-I* describes the various attributes of the Creator, who is the origin of all, Akal, endless etc.⁷ The poet tries to remove all misconceptions about his writing the story of the goddess. He wants to convey the message that he continues to be the firm believer of one God.

The Guru forcefully puts his life time ambition near the end of the story of Chandi, thus :

"O Shiva (God), grant me this boon,
That I may never avoid doing a good deed,
Never fear the enemy when I go to battle,
But surely go on to victory;
That I may teach myself this longing alone,
To sing only of Thy praises,
And when the last days of my life come,
I may die fighting valiently in some battle."⁸

The life of the Guru was identical with that of Chandi, for both remain constantly busy against their enemies. Guru's prayer to Shiva for granting him a boon to "never avoid doing a good deed," to remain fearless in the battle-field, and the purpose of relating the story of Chandi was no other than his "lust of battle," confirms his resolve to fight against the oppressors. The Guru is fearless and prefers to die "fighting in some mighty battle." He is impressed about the war-like qualities of the goddess, which he is able to translate in his mission.

There are some allusions made to the river Sarasvati (Sarsuti),⁹ but the same is conspicuous by its non-mention in the

7. *Chandi Charitar-I*, I.1

8. *Chandi Charitar-I*, VIII. 231-32, for its English rendering, see Leohlin, *op. cit.*, p.34.

9. *Chandi Charitar-I*, II. 18; V.148; VII, 205.

Purana. The poet introduces this river in the story because it fell in the areas of his activities. He makes a significant departure from the Purana by mentioning this important holy river of this region.

The poet introduces in the poem the contemporary mode of fighting in which the soldiers chant the words of "kill, kill"¹⁰ in order to over-awe the enemy soldiers.

The poet describes a unique feudal medieval practice through which the suzerains humoured their subordinate chiefs and generals. It was the offering of betel-leaves, crown and umbrella to the generals in the assembly (*sabha*) of the suzerains.¹¹ The poet mentions this practice in the context of the demons, which he must have been witnessing it in his own time.

It is with a view to show that the sanguinary battle between Chandi and the demon Nishumbh perhaps surpassed all previous battles that the poet is inclined to determine the area of the battle-field upto 400 *kohs*.¹² It may not be true, but it certainly speaks of the respective territories of the gods and the demons who were engaged in the battle.

The poet does not bother to record each and every details of the Purana. He abstains from mentioning those unconventional things which appeared to him to be unbelievable ones. If somehow he feels inclined to describe such thing, he sees to it that it should not take larger space. His problem was that the story was drawn from an ancient source, and all could not have been overlooked or ignored. A few instances of his not giving credence to the Puranic story are given below :

- (i) the *Markandeya Purana* refers to the birth of Durga from the super-natural powers of the gods, and the latter are believed to have given her their individual powers;¹³
- (ii) the poet ignores the description of the strength of the various wings of the demon king Mahishasura,¹⁴ because it looked to be unbelievable one at the outset;
- (iii) his silence on the Puranic mention of Devi taking wine during her battle with Mahishasura;¹⁵
- (iv) there is made a free use of the contemporary terms;
- (v) the sword which was the favourite weapon of the Guru, finds mention alongwith the Puranic weapons; and
- (vi) the Puranic stories are twisted, and names of many characters are missing.

10. *Ibid.*, II.40.

11. *Ibid.*, IV. 105-106; V. 125,127.

12. *Ibid.*, VII. 212.

13. *Markandeya Purana*, 79, 8-9; 85, 11-19.

14. *Ibid.*, 79; 40-47.

15. *Ibid.*, 80, 36.

The *Chandi Charitar-I* is an outstanding work of the *Dasam Granth*. Three independent works on Chandi indicate the preference for a work which could prepare the people to get ready for making a supreme sacrifice. It helped in arousing the war spirit among the people. It was not aimed at revenge as is generally alleged by Syed Muhammad Latif. It was meant for inculcating the ideas of freedom and liberty which is the essence of human dignity.

ASSUMPTION OF SOVEREIGNTY BY SIKHS AT AKAL TAKHT, AMRITSAR IN 1765 A.D.

SURINDER SINGH*

Sikhs made the seventh invasion of Ahmed Shah Abdali, of December, 1764 – March 1765, a failure by repeatedly attacking his army on its flanks and even in daring frontal attacks in Jallandhar Doab. Although Ahmed Shah was able to destroy Amritsar, the holy place of the Sikhs, but he went back as a bitter man having realised the impossibility of crushing or even holding Sikhs under his suzerainty. The Sikhs with their tactical warfare harrassed him to no end and had an upper hand over the Afghans in this invasion.¹

With the departure of Ahmed Shah, Sikhs retired to Amritsar to celebrate Baisakhi falling on 10th April, 1765. They cleaned and repaired the entire complex. The 'Sarowar', tank of Nectar, was cleared of debris and repaired. The 'Hari Mandir' and other buildings were reconstructed, on which Sikh Sardars spent large sums of money. Leaders of about half a dozen Misls which formed the commonwealth, appointed their representatives in the temple, thus setting up an establishment. Regular *granthis* were appointed who carried out the religious ceremonies which are continuing to the present day.² The 'Guru Ka Langar' was set up on a larger scale than ever.³

The jubilation over their victories and festivities of Baisakhi went on for about a month and thereafter the Sardars sat down at Akal Takht to attend to the common problems faced by the community. Historians have called these gatherings as 'General Assembly' or 'National Council' etc. held on the days of Baisakhi and Dewali every year, in which the pressing problems faced by the community were discussed and collective decisions were taken in the form of *Gurumattas*. *Gurumatta*, literally meaning the advice or counsel of the Guru, had developed into an important institution to determine the 'General Will' of the community by consensus. It helped in providing unity and cohesion amongst the independent Sardars and taking up of collective action against their persecutors. *Gurumattas* were started by Guru Gobind Singh to assess the views of his followers and there are instances where

* 2119, Sector 15-C, Chandigarh.

1. Hari Ram Gupta, *Evolution of Sikh Confederacies*, New Delhi, 1978, pp.216, 221-24.

2. *Ibid.*, p.227.

3. Khushwant Singh, *History of The Sikhs*, Vol.I, Delhi, 1987, pp.160-61.

he accepted the will of the general body over his own views. European travellers John Malcolm and George Forster have given detailed accounts of an independence of expression of views by every member in such assemblies, where personal and private feuds were forgotten and extreme devotion and service was rendered to their religion and the commonwealth.⁴

The Sikh assembly in April 1765 at Akal Takht passed the *Gurumatta* of their complete independence and assumption of sovereignty and resolved to regain their old territories and acquire new ones wherever possible. They also decided to issue a coin in the name of Gurus as a mark of their sovereignty.⁵ The presence of a Muslim governor of Lahore hardly thirty miles from Amritsar appeared offensive to their new formed independence. The Bhangi Chiefs Lehna Singh and Gulab Singh joined by Sobha Singh marched on Lahore and occupied the same without any serious resistance and parcelled the town amongst themselves in May 1735.⁶ Thereafter, they issued the coin in the name of their Gurus from Lahore mint in May 1765 A.D., i.e. Samvat 1822⁷ and during subsequent years. These coins are readily available with collectors and various museums all over India. Although Sikh coins were also struck by Banda Singh Bahadur in 1710–12 A.D.⁸ and a debatable coin by Jassa Singh Ahluwalia.⁹ The Sikh coins for regular use really commenced with the coin of 1765 A.D.

The assembly selected the following legend for the coin which was selected by Banda Singh Bahadur for his seal in 1710 A.D. and is found embossed on some of his *Hukmnamas*.

It read as follows :

Obverse : "Deg Tegh Fateh Nasrut Baidarang
Yaft uz Nanak Guru Gobind Singh."

Reverse : "Zarb Darulsaltnat Lahore Sambat
1822 Maiminat Manoos."

Kettle (the means of feeding and helping needy), Sword (the power to protect oneself and weak and helpless), and victory

4. K.S. Thapar, "Gurmata, Democracy in Practice" *The Panjab Past and Present*, Vol. IX, Part II, Oct. 1975, Patiala, pp.284-89.

5. H.R. Gupta, *op.cit.*, p.227. Also see K.S. Thapar, *op.cit.*, p.289; Harjinder Singh Dilgeer, "Hukmnamas of the Akal Takht" *Proceedings of the Punjab History Conference*, March, 1982, Patiala, p.175; C.J. Rodgers, "On Sikh Coins", *Journal of Asiatic Society*, Vol. L, Calcutta, 1881, p.79; G.C. Narang, *Transformation of Sikhism*, Lahore, 1912, p.251; Sayad Mohammad Latif, *History of Panjab* (reprint), Ludhiana, 1989, p.287; J.D. Cunningham, *History of Sikhs* (reprint), Delhi, 1972, p.93.

6. H.R. Gupta, *Evolution of Sikh Confederacies*, pp.228-29.

7. *Ibid.*, p.230. Also see J.D. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p.94; G.C. Narang, *op. cit.*, p.251; Mohammad Latif, *op. cit.*, p.287; N.K. Sinha, *Rise of Sikh Power*, Calcutta, 1973, p.45; G.L. Chopra, *Punjab As a Sovereign State*, Hoshiarpur, 1960, p.153; C. J. Rodgers, *op cit.*, p.79.

8. William Irvine, *Later Mughals*, Delhi, 1989, p.110.

9. H.R. Gupta, "The First Sikh Coin of Lahore," *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 1938, p.428.

with prompt or unrestrained assistance or patronage received from Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh. Struck in Lahore, the seat of government in the auspicious Sambat year 1822.

The Sikhs also issued a coin from Amritsar later on. The exact year thereof is not known. Historians and numismatists had located the coin for the year 1835 Sambat and was noted as the earliest coin but recently a coin for the year 1832 Sambat has also been traced and hence the available earliest coin from Amritsar pertains to the year 1832 Sambat.¹⁰ The legend on the coin is that used by Banda Singh Bahadur on his coins during 1710 to 1712 A.D. and the same runs as follows :-

Obverse : "*Sika Zad bar har do alam. Tegh-i-Nanak Wahib ast, Fateh Gobind Singh Shah-i-Shahan, Fazal-i-Sacha Sahib ast.*"

Reverse : "*Zarb ba aman-ul-Dahar masavarat Shahar, Zinat-ul-takht mubarak bakht.*"

By the grace of lord is struck, the coin in the two worlds, The sword of Nanak is the granter of all boons and the victory of (Guru) Gobind Singh, the King of Kings.

The former couplet has been used regularly and exists on the majority of the available Sikh coins, and the second is the initial on coins from Amritsar and some from Lahore and Multan mints. The coins with the second legend are a small fraction of the available coins.

The couplet '*Deg Tegh Fateh*' on Sikh coins has been given various interpretations besides having treated as a mere Persian couplet in praise of Gurus. J.D. Cunningham, S.M. Latif, G.C. Narang and G.L. Chopra are wrong in calling *Deg* as 'Grace.' They are also wrong in treating "Yaft az Nanak Guru Gobind Singh" as received by Guru Gobind Singh from Guru Nanak whereas the correct meaning is 'received from Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh.'¹¹ J.D. Cunningham is also wrong in treating *Deg Teg* as 'miri and piri' of Guru Hargobind.¹² H.R. Gupta has incorrectly drawn a similarity between *Deg Tegh Fateh* and the Hindu holy Trinity of Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva.¹³ It appears that historians have not appreciated the true meaning and spirit of this couplet.

The concept of *Degh Tegh* was inherent in Guru Nanak's teaching of service represented by *Deg* and non acceptance of tyranny which was resisted later on with the help of sword. These two aspects of service of the community and resistance to injustice and tyranny took more and more visible form with the increase

10. C.J. Rodgers, *op. cit.*, p.80; Kon Wiggins and Shan Goron, *Gold and Silver Coinage of Sikhs*, Inaugural Issue, International Coloquum, I.J.R.N.S. Anjaneri, 1984, p.128.

11. J.D. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p.94; Mohd. Latif, *op. cit.*, p.287; G.C. Narang, *op. cit.*, p.251; G.L. Chopra, *op. cit.*, p.153.

12. J.D. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, Appendix, IX, p.312; Appendix XII, p.315.

13. H.R. Gupta, *History of Sikh Gurus*, Delhi, 1973, p.182.

in Sikh devotees and the increased tyranny of the rulers of Punjab. The execution of Sikh Gurus and other persecutions took the form of armed resistance and the concept became more and more a living way of life and an integral part of Sikh ethos. Guru Gobind Singh, the tenth Guru, fully institutionalised and concretised the same. He has stated in *Krishan Avtar* "*Deg Tegh Jag me duon chalen, Rakh ap, mohe, awar na dalen.*" meaning that my free community kitchen and my sword should prevail supreme in the whole world, I need your's protection and none else will be able to defeat me.¹⁴ To strengthen his *Deg* and *Tegh* i.e. the economic and financial resources and the strength of his armies and weapons, he carried out various measures in the short span available with him. He abolished the debased institution of 'Masands'¹⁵ who had lost the instinct of service and was not paying the due realisations to the Guru or the central treasury. Some were punished and others disgraced and arrangements were made for the collection of 'daswandh' and other offerings through Gurus' representatives and by 'hundis' i.e. drafts etc. The devotees were ordered to come fully armed. With regards to *Tegh* Guru Gobind Singh created the Khalsa¹⁶ in 1699 A.D. and created such a spirit of devotion and sacrifice in his Khalsa that they could take up resistance against vastly superior forces. Guru Gobind Singh also extolled persons who showed conspicuous excellence in their personal contribution to *Degh* and *Tegh*.¹⁷

Deg Tegh Fateh appears on the top of 'Hukmnamahs' issued by Mata Sahib Devi, wife of Guru Gobind Singh to Sikhs after she settled down in Delhi.¹⁸ *Degh* and *Tegh Fateh* was framed into a Persian couplet by Banda Singh Bahadur and used in his seal in 1710 A.D. This couplet was used by Lahore Darbar on its coins and continued till the annexation of Punjab by the British and declaration of Sikh coinage as a dead currency in 1850.¹⁹ This couplet has also been used by the Nabha State on its coinage and Patiala State on its 'Nazrana coins' struck for *pooja* purposes, which continued till the accession of these states to the Union of India in 1948.²⁰ *Deg Tegh Fateh* is part of the daily 'ardas,' prayer read out after every Sikh religious ceremony.

14. Max Arthur Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol.V, Delhi, 1985, p.311; Dharam Pal Ashta, 'Poetry of Dasam Granth', Ph.D. thesis, Panjab University, Library, Chandigarh, p.26.

15. H.R. Gupta, *op. cit.*, p.190.

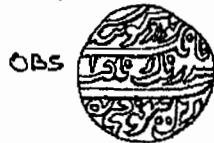
16. *Ibid.*, p.180.

17. Dharam Pal Ashta, *op. cit.*, p.26.

18. Ganda Singh, *Hukmnamas*, Patiala, 1985, p.149.

19. Foreign Department, *General Report, Administration of Panjab Territories 1849-51*, Calcutta, 1856, p.34.

20. Surinder Singh, 'Nabha State Coinage' and 'Patiala State Muil and Nazrana Coins,' unpublished MSS.

LAHORE COIN. 1845.

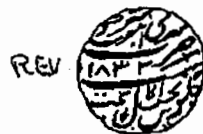
دیگ تیغ فتح اعتراف بید رنگ
یافت از نانک گوردگو بندر سنگ -



۱۸۴۵
فرب دارالسلطنت لاہور سمیت میمنت خانوس جوس -

AMRITSAR COIN 1845.

سکہ ندبیر مرد عالم فضل سچا صاحب است -
فتح گوردگو بندر سنگ شاہ شان تیغ نانک واپس است -



۱۸۴۵
جرب ابرتر سمیت میمنت خانوس جوس -

MAHARAJA RANJIT SINGH'S EXPEDITION OF 1819: CONQUEST AND ANNEXATION OF KASHMIR

HARMEET SETHI *

In 1819, Wazir Fateh Khan whose eyes had been put out¹ by Shah Kamran (son of Shah Mahmud and grandson of Shah Timur) ruler of Herat, invited Azam Khan, Kashmir Governor, to assist him in carrying out his ministerial duties and to fight Shah Kamran. Azam Khan secretly despatched all his moveable property with Sehaj Ram to Kabul. Azam Khan appointed his younger brother Jabar Khan as Kashmir Governor and himself left for Kabul. He also ordered a large number of his Afghan troops to move towards Kandhar to punish the cruel ruler Shah Kamran.²

Jabar Khan was the last Afghan Governor in Kashmir. There are different views about his character and administration. Diwan Kirpa Ram says that the absence of Azam Khan from Kashmir had rendered the valley administratively and militarily very weak and insecure.³ Jabar Khan, new Kashmir Chief, indulged in obnoxious terrorism, cruel extortions, inhuman communalism and unpardonable chauvinism.⁴ The author of *Kashmir* and others are of the view that unlike his predecessors, Jabar Khan was, however, extremely mild and just, but was ordained to rule for four months only.⁵ It is well known that Pandit Bir Bal Dhar, the revenue collector of Kashmir, had already gone to the court of Maharaja Ranjit Singh on account of humiliation from Azam Khan.⁶

As soon as Pandit Bir Bal Dhar, fugitive Revenue Collector of Kashmir, heard of Azam Khan's departure from Kabul, he urged Maharaja Ranjit Singh to attack Kashmir. Recollecting his previous experiences, the Maharaja, in the beginning, did not approve of the idea of immediate invasion. 'Wait and Watch' was the policy he wanted to follow. At last, Pandit Bir Bal Dhar held himself responsible for all consequent loss in case of failure. As a guarantee, the Pandit surrendered his son Raj Kak Dhar, who

* Lecturer in History, Chandigarh.

1. ਅੰਨ੍ਹਾ ਕਰਨਾ, ਅੱਖਾਂ ਕੱਢਣੀਆਂ (ਜੋੜ ਅਧਿ) ਉਤਾਰਨਾ।

Attar Singh, Balbir Singh Sandhu and others (eds.), *English Punjabi Dictionary*, Punjab State University Text Book Board, Chandigarh. 1990 (reprint), p. 905.

2. C.M.D. Sufi, *Kashmir*, New Delhi, 1974, I, p.334.

3. Diwan Kirpa Ram, *Gulabnama*, pp.132-136.

4. Khushwant Singh, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol.I, p. 254.

5. Sufi, *op.cit.*, I, p. 334.

6. Diwan Kirpa Ram, *op.cit.*, p. 87.

was subsequently offered a high administrative post during Maharaja's rule in Kashmir, as hostage to the court of Maharaja at Lahore. The Maharaja then agreed to follow Bir Bal Dhar's advice particularly knowing the fact that a large portion of Afghan army of Kashmir was then fighting in Kandhar against Shah Kamran of Herat. Pyne opines that Wazir Fateh Khan had, by then, been killed by Prince Kamran.⁷

After completing military preparations for the third and final attack, the Maharaja released Sultan Khan of Bhimber from captivity and offered him a small *jagir* on the condition of his acting as a helper and guide for the Sikh army in that area. It is sheer misfortune that the chieftain, who had, only a few years ago, rallied a considerable support and given a resolute battle to the Sikhs which had made him a popular hero in the hilly tract, should have been so demoralised by five years' captivity as to have readily agreed to act as Maharaja Ranjit Singh's collaborator. Sultan Khan vowed on the '*kalma*' to support proposed Sikh invasion and further strictly adhere to his commitments and honour all promises. The Maharaja, thereafter, asked Bir Bal to contact the *jagirdars*, *muqaddams* and other willing collaborators who took pride to be addressed as 'Rais', and to secure from them written or verbal pledge of support.⁸ It is claimed that some of them sincerely joined Aghar Khan of Rajauri and gave a written undertaking in 'saffron' ink. The Maharaja appeared to have been keen to secure the support of the local chiefs and big *jagirdars* from Bhimber upto Shopian to ensure that the army secured a free and peaceful passage and that the 'rear' of the army was safe whilst it advanced. The release of Sultan Khan and the pledge by Aghar Khan had the same purpose in view. Letters and messages were then despatched to all Sardars and the subordinate chiefs to assemble at Lahore alongwith the detachments of their troops.⁹

Misr Diwan Chand, the hero-conqueror of Multan, was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Sikh army.¹⁰ He was directed to proceed to Rajauri accompanied by Diwan Dhanpat Rai and some top army commanders.¹¹ He was also instructed to keep in readiness the great canons at Bhimber and to take with him only light guns and musketry considering the nature of hilly terrain. The advance column left Lahore on 26th February, 1819 under the command of Prince Kharak Singh while the Maharaja marched personally on 19th April, 1819 and set up his base camp at Wazirabad (Gujrat). The army was divided

7. C.H. Pyne, *A Short History of the Sikhs*, p.67.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 98.

9. Allen, *History of the Panjab*, p. 51.

10. Charles Elliston Bates, *A Gazetteer of Kashmir*, p. 110.

11. *Ibid.*

into three columns. The main column was to stay at the base camp with the Maharaja himself in command. The other two columns, one under Misr Diwan Chand and the other under Prince Kharak Singh were despatched through Rajauri. The troops were also accompanied by the most outstanding Sikh generals i.e., Hari Singh Nalwa, Jawala Singh, Akali Phula Singh Nihang and Gulab Singh. Kharak Singh marched via Jammu while Misr Diwan Chand moved through Bhimber. From Rajauri, Misr Diwan Chand informed the Maharaja that Aghar Khan rendered valuable assistance.¹² The cavalry, had reached Rajauri, but as the arrival of the infantry was still awaited, it was considered expedient to resume the advance.¹³ The Maharaja, therefore, personally moved to Bhimber. Mohd. Yusuf Saraf observes that due to the loot of the Sikh soldiery at Rajauri, the religious minded Aghar Khan, the local Muslim Chief, left the Sikh troops suddenly and began harassing the isolated groups of Sikh army.¹⁴ The common view is that Aghar Khan deserted the Sikh army to save the Muslim rule in Kashmir Valley and particularly in the small states situated in the south of Kashmir.

Punchh, which was known as 'Parnotsa' at the time of visit of Hieun Tsang and was under the suzerainty of Kashmir, was then ruled by Ruhullah Khan whose son had been detained by the Afghans as a hostage.¹⁵ He, therefore, again expressed his inability to support Sikhs. He was expelled and the territory was occupied by the Lahore Darbar. The Muslims had also no particular passion to be pleased with the Afghan rule which had dealt with them as harshly as with local Hindus.

Accompanied by Raja Sultan Mohd. Khan of Bhimber, who was released from captivity after seven years, Misr Diwan Chand reached Bhimber in May 1819 and within a fortnight occupied Rajauri and Punchh and also secured all the 'passes' in the Pir Panjal mountain region. The routs over Pir Panjal, now lay open to the Sikh forces, who, advancing rapidly, descended into the valley and halted only at Sarai Ali. Meanwhile Prince Kharak Singh's army advanced towards Surdi Thana, and the Maharaja with the third division, came upto Bhimber. Jabar Khan, the acting Governor of Kashmir, had taken up position with the five thousand men at Supin towards which the entire Sikh force advanced and the battle was fought on 5 July, 1819.¹⁶ The Afghan forces of Kashmir were utterly routed and fled across the mountain. Cunningham says that it was almost bloodless battle.¹⁷

12. Allen, *op.cit.*, p.51.

13. Khushwant Singh, *op.cit.*, pp.254-55.

14. Mohammad Yusuf Saraf, *Kashmiri's Fight for Freedom*, p. 75.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 75.

16. Allen, *op.cit.*, p. 52.

17. J.D. Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs* (reprint), Delhi, 1963, p. 143.

Owing to the superiority of number of daring Sikh troops, Afghan army lost heart.¹⁸ Their leaders, however, fought desperately. Jabar Khan is said to have sustained eighteen wounds and was picked from the battlefield by his adjutant who ordered immediate retreat. It was after some days that Jabar Khan recovered consciousness. Later on, taking his precious property with him, he left for Kabul by way of Baramula, thus leaving the Sikh army in complete possession of the Kashmir Valley. The Valley of Kashmir now lay at the mercy of the victorious Sikh army. The triumphant entry to the city was made, and the surrounding forts of Shergarh and Azamgarh surrendered. The Maharaja announced the annexation of Kashmir to his Kingdom. He appointed Diwan Moti Ram (son of late Diwan Mohkam Chand) as its first Governor and Diwan Devi Dass to be the chief of the settlement of Kashmir. Thence the Maharaja returned to Lahore to celebrate the victory of his army.

The two factors that helped the Maharaja in conquest of Kashmir in 1819 were the acquisition by him of immense booty from the fall of the fort of Multan in 1818, and the withdrawal of almost all the veteran Afghan troops from the valley to beyond the Indus in the internecine war of Afghanistan.¹⁹ Raw levies, writes Sufi, left in the valley were no match against the reorganised Sikh army well-provided with the gains of Multan.²⁰

18. Sufi, *op.cit.*, p. 334.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 335.

20. *Ibid.*

KASHMIR UNDER MAHARAJA RANJIT SINGH: FINANCIAL INVOLVEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT

BANDNA SETHI*

The annual defence budget of Kashmir in the period of Maharaja Ranjit Singh was three lakhs of rupees.¹ Further to seek the active cooperation and goodwill of the Kashmiri elite, engaged in literary and religious pursuits, another sum of two lakhs of rupees was earmarked for their maintenance. Yet another sum of one lakh of rupees was sanctioned for the maintenance of religious establishments of Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. The author of *Tarikh-i-Kalan* gives detailed accounts of expenses which were allocated for secular and humanitarian purposes. The annual expenditure of the Lahore Darbar on civil and military administration of Suba-i-Kashmir, as estimated by Vigne, is as below:

Subjects	Annual Allotment (Chilki Rupees)
A. Recurring	
I. Army	
a. General Defence	2,00,000
b. Maintenance of Forts	1,00,000
II. Civil Establishment	
a. Salary of Governor	1,00,000
b. Dharamarth (State contribution towards charitable institutions and religious establishment)	2,00,000
B. Non Recurring	2,00,000
TOTAL	8,00,000

Baron Charles Von Hugel's estimate of expenditure on defence of Kashmir was higher than that of Vigne. Hugel explains that two regiments of central Government totalling 3000 men only were permanently stationed in Kashmir.² The pay of a soldier was 16 sh. per month excluding the cost of a part of his uniform, arms and ammunition. The expenditure on salary alone was about Rs. 3,68,640. With the addition of Rs. 30,000 for food, dress, arms and ammunition, per year, the total expenditure on the army employed in Kashmir comes to approximately Rs. 4,00,000. It appears that Vigne did not include the expenditure

* Lecturer, Guru Gobind Singh College for Boys, Chandigarh.

1. G.T. Vigne, *Travels in Kashmir, Ladakh, Iskardu etc.*, Vol. II, London, 1842, pp. 119-120.
2. Edward Thornton, *Gazetteer of the Countries, Adjacent to India, etc.*, Vol. I, London, 1841-44, p. 367.

of one regiment of the army which was not paid for a long time. On the information given by Hugel, yearly expenditure on army is worked out as under :

3000 soldiers x 16 sh. = 48000 sh. monthly salary
 48000 sh. x 12 months = 5,76,000 sh. or = Rs. 3,68,640
 (Kashmiri currency).

When once Maharaja Ranjit Singh decided to appoint his eldest son Prince Kharak Singh as Governor of Kashmir, the Prince volunteered to spare Rs. 18,86,000 annually from the revenue of Kashmir for Central Government excluding Rs. 6,00,000 for the maintenance of Kashmir army and Rs. 1,68,000 for his own salary and those of the employees under him, in the Valley.

Joseph Davey Cunningham, in his authentic works says that the average expenditure on army in Kashmir province was Rs. 5,00,000.³ We, therefore, conclude that the expenditure on army stated by Vigne was an under-estimation while the account put forth by Kanwar Kharak Singh was exaggerated. The figures of estimated expenditure on army and forts provided by J.D. Cunningham and Hugel are almost correct. In the light of above study, the total financial involvement of Central Government in the Kashmir province could be as under:

Recurring

a. Army	Rs. 5,00,000
b. Salary of Governor (excluding presents from the people)	Rs. 1,00,000
c. Dharamarth	Rs. 2,00,000

Non-Recurring

Total	Rs. 2,00,000
	Rs. 10,00,000

The details of account pertaining to the Governorship of Sheikh Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din reveal that the expenditure on the army and civil administration from 1841 to 1846 was about Rs. 9,42,000 per annum, which comfortably corroborates the above studied estimates of Rs. 10,00,000. However, it is on record, being a fact, that at the end of Sikh rule, for obvious reasons, the strength of the soldiers was raised from 3000 to nearly 8000.⁴ Another reason for increasing armed strength in Kashmir is attributed to the ambition and wishful thinking of the last Governor Sheikh Imam-ud-Din to become independent chief of Kashmir.

There has been some adverse criticism, mostly from the unfriendly and prejudiced English traveller William Moorcroft regarding the taxation system under Sikh rule, on the ground, that Kashmiris were taxed quite arbitrarily and heavily. The critics

3. J.D. Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, Delhi, 1953 (reprint), appendix XXXVIII, p. 384.

4. Bikramjit Hasrat, *The Punjab Papers*, Hoshiarpur, 1970, p. 110.

generally allege that the shawl industry in Kashmir could not prosper only due to heavy duties imposed by the Governors. On the other hand, some reliable authors and accounts state that the poor plight of the shawl weavers was not entirely due to the Sikh taxation policy. They add that Afghan Governors were mainly and basically responsible for severely damaging this industry and giving rise to economic bankruptcy. We, once again, quote William Moorcroft saying that the Kashmir economy could be boosted under intelligent and benevolent rule.⁵ The author appears partially correct because the population of the valley had decreased on account of oppression of the Afghans and the famine of 1833. It seems necessary to agree and add Hugel's views that the revenue resources of Kashmir could be increased upto Rs. 43,52,000 provided honest and efficient administrators were assured a minimum of 5 years tenure. He estimated the total revenue, as under:

i) Land Revenue and Water Nuts	=	£ 2,84,000
ii) House Tax in Kashmir	=	£ 20,000
iii) Tax on Boats	=	£ 5,800
iv) Duty on Shawls and Other Woolens	=	£ 25,000
v) Monopolies	=	£ 2,200
vi) Tributes from Petty Chiefs	=	£ 3,000
TOTAL		= £ 3,40,000

Total in Kashmiri Currency (converted) =Rs. 43,52,000.

Above estimate is also corroborated by Dewan Krishan Lal who also gives a detailed account of the revenues and expenditure. It is true that the Governors and Revenue Farmers (Dewans) sent from Lahore were not above board. With their inefficiency, indifference, corrupt and irregular practices, they employed under-hand methods and pocketed huge money in the form or on the pretext of *nazrana*, etc.⁶ Despite above malpractices, Kashmir remained one of the richest provinces of Lahore Darbar. The revenue remained higher even after meeting entire recurring and non-recurring expenses on the entire civil and military establishments.⁷ The financial involvement of the Afghan Government, the predecessor of the Sikh rule, was about Rs. 11,40,000 which was slightly higher than what Sikh Government actually spent. It should be remembered that Afghan expenditure and financial involvement was mostly due to increased soldiery they kept to check external invasions, while under Sikh rule, the strength of army was quite nominal and insignificant. When compared, we find Sikh Government's expenditure was quite considerable on civil administration,

5. William Moorcroft, *op. cit.*; M.S. EUR D.G. 28, p. 251.

6. *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*; M.S. EUR D. 263, p. 41.

7. N.K. Sinha, *Ranjit Singh*, Calcutta, 1945, p. 153.

'*dharamarth*' and under other benevolent heads. The whole of the military establishment of the Sikhs in Kashmir in 1822 was about 4000 soldiers of which 1000 were horsemen. On the other hand, the Afghan Government kept 16000 to 20000 soldiers as standing army. Hence Afghan's financial involvement pertained mostly to the maintenance of the army alone.⁸

8. Edward Thornton, *op. cit.*, p. 317.

WOMEN IN THE LIFE OF MAHARAJA RANJIT SINGH

LT. COL. (RTD.) GULCHARAN SINGH*

Like any other ruler of the time, Maharaja Ranjit Singh also maintained a *harem*, though, contrary to the practice, it was small in size. He had eighteen wives, twentyone concubines and seven courtesans, one of the last category being a Kathak dancer. The women belonged to different religions and came from various parts of the world. Of the eighteen wives that the Maharaja had, nine were taken according to the orthodox ceremony, and the other five by *chadardalna*.¹ Dr Gopal Singh says, the Maharaja had twenty one married wives whose names were: (i) Mehtab Kaur, (ii) Raj Kaur, (iii) Jind Kaur, (iv) Rattan Kaur and (v) Daya Kaur (both widows of Sahib Singh Bhangi of Gujrat; they gave birth to Kanwars Multana Singh and Kashmira Singh respectively), (vi) Mehtab Devi, alias Guddan, and (vii) Raj Banso (both daughters of Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra), (viii) Moran, (ix) Gulbahar Begum, (x) Rup Kaur, (xi) Chand Kaur, (xii) Ram Devi, (xiii) Lachhmi, (xiv) Raj Devi, (xv) Har Devi, (xvi) Devno, (xvii) Rani Devi, (xviii) Saman Kaur, (xix) Gulab Kaur, (xx) Banto and (xxi) Danno.²

Mehtab Kaur : The Maharaja's first wife was Maharani Mehtab Kaur, the only daughter of Sardar Gurbakhsh Singh of the Kanhaiya Misl, whom he married at Batala in 1796. She was the most beautiful. The two Misls — the Sukerchakia and the Kanhaiya—though on good terms earlier, had lately become each other's enemy and fought a number of battles. In their last battle, Gurbakhsh Singh, son of Jai Singh Kanhaiya, was killed and the latter fled the field. It was now that the shrewd and enterprising Sada Kaur, widow of Gurbakhsh Singh, who had a great influence over her aged father-in-law and more or less regulated the affairs of their Misl, proposed the engagement of her only daughter, Mehtab Kaur, with the young Ranjit Singh.³ The betrothal ceremony took place during 1785, when Ranjit Singh was only five years old. This was a political relationship resulting into the union of the two powerful Misls. Sada Kaur, it is said, served as a

* 196-R, Model Town, Jalandhar.

1. Lepel Griffin, *Ranjit Singh*, Oxford, 1905, p.107.

2. The Sikh Review, 'Maharaja Ranjit Singh's Birth Centenary Number', Calcutta, 1980.

3. Payne writes that it was a sort of penalty imposed by Mahan Singh on his defeated adversary. *Short History of the Sikhs*, p.60. However, this doesn't seem to be correct. (editor)

ladder by which Ranjit Singh climbed to greatness. Mehtab Kaur gave birth to three sons : Ishar Singh who lived for a year and a half only; Sher Singh, he became the Maharaja of Panjab after the death of Kanwar Nao Nihal Singh, but himself was assassinated by Sandhanwalias when he was 37 years of age; Tara Singh, he died at Dasuya in 1859. She herself died in 1813.

Raj Kaur : His second wife was Raj Kaur, also known as Mai Nakkain, a daughter of Khazan Singh, the Nakkai Chief. The marriage took place in 1798. In 1801, she gave birth to Prince Kharak Singh who succeeded the Lahore throne after the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Kharak Singh died at the age of 39, and his son, Kanwar Nao Nihal Singh was killed on the day of his father's cremation. She became one of the claimants to the Lahore throne and contested Sher Singh's claim. During the struggle for ascendancy she was killed by the scheming Raja Dhian Singh, when Sher Singh became the maharaja.

The above two were the most important of the Maharaja's wives.

Moran : Even in matrimonial aspect, the Maharaja maintained a secular outlook – he had Muslim as well as Hindu wives besides the Sikh wives. The well-known Muslim wife of the Maharaja was Moran, a professional dancer of Amritsar. The Maharaja had fallen in love with her at the first sight and then married her in 1801. She was given Firozpur in *Jagir*, and 'coins, with her name and effigy, were struck'.⁴

This marriage caused a stir in the orthodox quarters; the Maharaja was summoned to the Darbar Sahib, Amritsar, tried for violating the social norms and awarded the punishment of a hundred lashes. The Maharaja accepted the punishment, but when he bared his back to receive the lashes, the Akali chief Phoola Singh, who had led the agitation, relented and the Maharaja was pardoned.

There is a story relating to the famous exchange between the Maharaja and his favourite courtesan-queen, Moran who was known to take liberties with the Maharaja. It has been narrated by Wahid-ud-din in his book, *The Real Ranjit Singh* and according to him, had been endorsed by Fakir Aziz-ud-din, one of the author's ancestors and the Maharaja's foreign minister. One day, the following conversation is said to have taken place between the Maharaja and Moran :-

Moran: "Maharaj? Where were you when God was distributing good looks?

4. Lepel Griffin, *op. cit.*, pp.108-09.

(There was no coin struck in the name of Moran or in the memory of Moran. Actually there was a coin with a effigy of a peacock's tail and peacock's tail was not a symbol of Moran— Editor.)

Maharaja : I was busy getting his angels to put me down for a kingdom to be won by force of arms."⁵

How this conversation in private leaked out cannot be said. However, it is quite likely, guesses Wahiduddin, that the Maharaja in one of his lighter moments told it to Fakir Aziz-ud-Din; or, Moran, in her ego, might have told it to her maid servants.

Moran died young and 'created a deep void' in the Maharaja's life. A mosque in Lahore was named after her.

Gulbahar Begum : The Maharaja had another Muslim wife, Gul Begum, later named Gulbahar Begum. She was another courtesan of Amritsar, who had earlier danced during the Ropar meeting. He married her in 1833. The marriage is described as under :-

"Maharaja put on saffron garments and jewellery. Gul Begum came up to the pavillion dressed in yellow garments, her hands and feet dyed red in henna, and from head to foot she was bedecked in gold ornaments studded with diamonds."

With garlands of roses and pearls adorning her, Gulbahar often sat in a chair beside the Maharaja. She travelled with Maharaja on the same elephant, and in the Royal Darbar she would sit naked-face and "completely dwarf the influence of the other wives on the middle-aged Maharaja". The mosque built by her in Lahore still exists. On the annexation of the Panjab Kingdom, the British gave her a yearly pension of Rs.,12,000.00 until her death in Lahore in 1863.

Dogra wives : The Maharaja had two daughters of Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra as his wives. They were, Rani Katochan Mehtab Devi, popularly known as Rani Guddan, and Rani Raj Banso.⁶ Rani Guddan was a patron of arts, particularly Pahari paintings, and possessed a collection of fine hill miniatures; her palace was a "veritable work of art." She was one of the four *ranis* who became *sati* on the Maharaja's death.

Rani Raj Banso was a "trend setter" in fashions and patronised the *Phulkari* art. Later she committed suicide and the stories in this connection goes as follows: That one day in the Darbar, the Maharaja asked one of the slave girls as to who she thought was the most beautiful among his queens. The slave girl named Rani

5. Wahid-ud-din, *The Real Ranjit Singh*, pp.26-27. A similar story is told about Mahmud Ghaznavi, who died on 29th April, 1030. This Turk ruler, like Ranjit Singh, also had pockmarks on his face. One day, having looked in a mirror, he said to his Wazir: "I have resilvered my face that I easily overlook those of others. The face of a king should brighten the eyes of all beholders; whilst mine appears the picture of misfortune." The Wazir replied, with the 'eastern obsequiousness' that "It is not one in ten thousand that sees your countenance, but your virtues are diffused over all." M. Latif, *History of the Panjab*, Lahore, 1890, p.86.

6. Rani Mehtab Devi and Rani Raj Banso were not the Dogra wives as the author has written. They were the Katochans. (editor).

Raj Banso. "But", said the Maharaja, "don't you think that Moran Sarkar is just as beautiful?" Rani Raj Banso felt hurt and committed suicide by poisoning herself.

Maharani Jind Kaur : Maharani Jind Kaur, commonly known as Jindan, was the youngest of the Maharaja's wives. After the Maharaja's death, she played an important role in the Panjab politics. A rare beauty, she was the daughter of Sardar Manna Singh of Gujranwala district. She was born in 1817, and was married to the Maharaja in 1835. She gave birth to Dalip Singh, the last and unlucky Maharaja of the Panjab. She knew Punjabi, Hindi and had a working knowledge of elementary arithmetics, politics and history.

The British did not treat her in an honourable manner. A strict watch was kept on her, and she was separated from her only son. She was first kept in Sheikhpura and thence shifted to a fort in the United Provinces (now Uttar Pradesh). Her jewellery and other properties were confiscated. However, the Maharani managed to escape to Nepal, which caused sensation in the British circles.

After the annexation of the Panjab, she maintained contacts with the rebels of 1857. Later, she managed to establish communications with her son who had since been taken to London. Dalip Singh came to Calcutta to see his mother, from where she accompanied her son to the United Kingdom. She died at Kensington on 1st August 1863.

Europeans : The Maharaja had no European wife (*mem*), although he wished to have one. Once (4th June 1838), the following conversation took place between the Maharaja and Mr. Osborne :-

Maharaja : Are you married?

Osborne: No.

M: Why don't you marry?

O: I can't afford it.

M: Why not? Are English wives very expensive?

O: Yes; very.

M: I wanted one myself some time ago, and wrote to the government about it, but they did not send me one.

O: It would be difficult to find one in this country that would suit your Highness.

M: Are there any in England?

O: Plenty.

M: Ah! I often wish for one.⁷

Fauji-hasanan or "Corps of Amazans"

Fauji-hasanan or the "troop of fair warriors" was a cultural troop composed of 150 dancing girls, the choice beauties selected

7. Osborne, *The Court and Camp of Ranjeet Singh*, London, 1840, pp.43,72-73.

from prettiest girls from Kashmir, Persia and the Panjab. These were meant for the entertainment of the Maharaja and his guests. "They were magnificently dressed, armed with bows and arrows, and used frequently to appear on horseback, mounted *en cavalier*, for the amusements of the Maharaja."⁸ They danced gracefully. Many of them were given small villages in grants.

During his visit to Dinanagar (May 1838), Osborne was shown dancing girls. The four Kashmiri girls were 'very pretty' and one of them, Sabhu "would have been thought beautiful anywhere."⁹ One of these girls, Lotus, "is a celebrated character at the Court of Lahore." She was received with tribute from Kashmir in 1836. She had been granted seven villages.

Sati

The Maharaja died on 27th June 1839, and his body was cremated the next day. Four of the *ranis*, including Guddan with the late Maharaja's head in her lap and seven slave girls burnt themselves with his body.¹⁰

State of women

There was congenial atmosphere in the Panjab during Maharaja's reign. He had prohibited trafficking in women ; their honour was safe in his times. Keene writes: "... Not a rude remark was addressed to any lady." And no scandals were heard of in the Maharaja's *harem*. The Maharaja's Muslim as well as the Hindu wives were given complete liberties to practise their respective faiths.

8. *Ibid.*, pp.36-37.

9. *Ibid.*, p.33.

10. *Lahore Akhbar*, June 1839; In the letter dated 12th July, 1839, Osborne wrote: "... five of his Kashmiri slave girls, one of whom, who was called the Lotus, or Lilly, I often saw last year in my first visit to Lahore." *Op.cit.*, p.80.

TRADE AND INDUSTRY IN SUKET HILL STATE

SKINDER KAUR *

Suket was one of the Panjab Hill States. Geographically it was situated between Bilaspur State and Mandi State. The old town of Suket has been ruined and the modern town developed besides that place which is named as Sunder Nagar.

Agriculture and industry, communication and transportation are the basis of a sound economy of the State. Rich production in agriculture, industry etc., can be possible only with extensive market; Market in turn can be extensive with the developed means of transport and communication. Transport and communication not only opened remote regions and resources of production, thus leading to rapid economic growth, but also helped to remove social barriers. Therefore, rapid but constant progress of agriculture and industry is possible only with extensive transportation and communication.

Though the system of transport and communication in Suket state was not upto date in the modern sense, still communication network was sufficient, keeping in view the times and the difficulties of a hilly tract. The state of Suket was visited by Moorcroft and George Trebeck on March 16, 1820.¹ They entered Suket by Dehar. They described the road which they had crossed - from 'Dehar to Suket' as partly over cultivated ground, partly uncultivated ground and partly over rugged paths, obstructed by large blocks of limestone.² In fact the roads were not maintained in the first half of the 19th century. These roads were, of course, practicable for laden animals. In the later half of the 19th Century in the state of Suket, there were four main routes: (i) From Chindi, a road crossed, south to Baji State and Shimla; (ii) Second road crossed to Dehar on the Sutlej which was there crossed by ferry owned jointly by the state of Suket and Kahlur, each state levied its own tolls on this ferry; (iii) Third road was from Balh to Mandi; and this road branches off from *dak bangalow* above Bhojpur in Sunder Nagar (the modern town) and joined the Mandi Hoshiarpur road³. (iv) The fourth road ran between Mandi and Shimla, via Suket, Dehar, Bilaspur,

* Lecturer, J.L.N. Govt. College for Women, Mandi Gobindgarh.

1. William Moorcroft and George Trebeck, *Travels in Hindustan*, Vol. I, London, 1837, pp. 40-41.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Punjab State Gazetteers*, Vol. XXI, A, 1904, Lahore, 1908, p.36.

Arki and Chana. There was another route via Suket, Thiri, Jhungi, Chindi, Suni and Mashobra. The main road in the town was quite picturesque. It was built by Raja Bhim Sen and was greatly improved later on⁴.

The principal means of communication were horses, mules, ponies, camels etc. The roads were narrow. In addition to the highways there were many other routes fit for mule traffic, viz., Suket to Pahar, the Shimla roads via Suket and Jhungi. There were also several footpaths which gave access to the more wayout villages. But goods had to be carried by the coolies⁵. The States also maintained a good number of rest-houses and *dak* bangalows to make journey and stay comfortable. A number of coolies and plentiful of water with camping ground were also available. The *dak* bangalows of Bannaid, Seri and Dehar were built by Raja Bhim Sen⁶. He had also got constructed a *pacca* road from Suket to Mandi⁷. The travellers could stay there for 24 hours at a charge of one rupee each. If the traveller did not stay for the night, he had to pay a fee of eight *annas* only. The state officials were also required to pay the same charges even though they were on official duty. However, these could be occupied by the state officials with the permission of the Durbar. Application for reservation was addressed to the Assistant Superintendent, Suket. The travellers were to enter their names and full addresses in the *dak* bangalows and rest-house registers. However, one can not reconcile with the charges, which were taken for the stay there. In the proximity of every *dak* bangalow, there was a shopkeeper to supply grain, *atta*, *ghee* etc. The rates of these goods varied as they were not fixed. The Rajas of Suket got built bridges, also. The bridge over the Sutlej at Jiuri was completed in 1889, when Raja Dusht Nikandan Sen was ruling the state⁸.

The state, due to scarcity of money, had indifferent attitude towards industries. In other words, state did not take interest in the development of industry. Also there was acute shortage of skilled labour, moreover, machines were not common. Though the state was having rich agricultural raw material and was sufficiently rich in minerals yet these were not fully utilized. Lack of organised market, insufficient development of means of transport and communication and scarcity of skilled labour and lack of state interest retarded the progress of industry. There were no big industries, only small and cottage industries mostly run by village artisans were found in the state. Here an attempt

4. Ram Chandra Pal Singh, *Census of 1961, Himachal Pradesh District Hand Book*, 11, Mandi, 1968, p.53.

5. B.R. Beotra, *Gazetteer of the Suket State*, Calcutta, 1927, pp.60-66.

6. J. Hutchinson and Vogal, *History of the Punjab Hill States*, Vol.I, 1933, p. 371.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*

has been made to trace the various branches of industries under the classification of artisans.

Sunars (Goldsmiths) did not make ornaments of very high precision yet they made ornaments of gold and silver of various designs popular in hill region. They also made silver and brass masks of the gods. Their charges varied from one to four rupees per *tola* according to the nature of the work. The charges for silver ornaments varied between two and four *annas per tola*. The *sunars* of the town were rather more skilful than the village craftsmen.⁹

Tathiars were known for making brass utensils. They were living all over the state, but *tathiars* of Churag in the Karsog *tehsil* were more skilful of all.¹⁰ They imported raw material from the plains and exported their finished goods to Shimla and Mandi. They were famous for manufacturing *arbamusarbas*.¹¹

Lohars (blacksmiths) in the Suket state worked in iron only. However, few experienced *lohars* made ornaments of brass and copper and a few even turned out metal masks of the dieties. However, their chief task was to manufacture agricultural implements for which they were paid at harvest with an additional food allowance on the *Sankrant* of each month. For domestic utensils, he was paid in cash as well as in the form of grains. However, the *lohars* of the Suket were more skilful than other *lohars* of the hills.¹²

The *tarkhans* and *thanwins* of Suket State were not so skilled as the *lohars* but they learned readily and the best of them found employment at wages up to 12 *annas* per day on state work, but average rate was not higher than 8 *annas* per day.¹³ The Zamidars employed them for construction work, however, apart from customary wages, they also used to give them two meals a day and tobacco to smoke.

Bamboo Workers were known as *banjhiaras* in this state. They manufactured *Peru* (big baskets) for collecting grains, *tokree*, *chhabri* etc. These people provided the ordinary need of the zamidar, who paid them a fixed amount of grains at the harvest. The prices of their manufacture varied between two pice to four per article, according to their nature of work. These people were hardworking but very poor because of the demands made on them by the state which was heavy. Moreover they were also asked to perform *begar*.¹⁴

9. B.R. Beotra, *op.cit.*, p.88.

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Arbamusarbas* is a local name for a brass utensil which is like a *Surahi* and is used for serving water to a person.

12. B.R. Beotra, *op.cit.*, p.88.

13. *Ibid.*

14. *Ibid.*

Julahas were famous for manufacturing mattings which were made from the leaves of the date palm (*khajur*), the cultivators of the Karsog *tehsil* manufactured *haldi* mattings. The local term for it was *Manjri*, the price of the *Manjri* was usually from one *anna* to four *annas*¹⁵.

The hill people were very good weavers and made their own wollen clothes. They wove *Khaddar* and woolen clothes. There was an extensive trade in *pashmina*, *pattus* and blankets. These were sold at local fairs or sent to Shimla and other places also. However, there was decrease in both *pattu* and blanket products. The looms used were very narrow. As a result two strips had to be joined together to form a blanket¹⁶. Besides this, the knitting work was also done by women of upper classes. They were skilled in this job. They made ties and front pieces for fancy waist coats and sometimes these were sent for sale to Shimla¹⁷.

Shoe makers were popularly known as *Chamar*. These shoes were exported to Rampur, Bushair and Shimla¹⁸. In Bhojpur there were local *Chamars* who were accomplished for making English shoes in addition¹⁹.

Slates were dressed at the quarries and were used for roofing. The contractors exported them to Bilaspur, Shimla and other hill states²⁰. There were very limited technical training facilities. Only a few training centres were attached with the schools. These training centres provided training in weaving of *pattu*, *pashmina*, blankets, etc., and training in tailoring and pottery work as well. Labourers were mainly unskilled people who used to work at one place or another for their livelihood.

Though agriculture was the main occupation of the people, yet it was not developed. Centuries old methods of cultivation were employed without any improvements. Most of the peasants for additional income kept bees from which they took the honey in June or in the months of autumn. The price of honey was two seer per rupee. Balh valley had very good honey. Honey was also exported to the plains and Shimla as well.²¹ Besides these cottage industries or handicrafts people of the Suket State also earned their livelihood by fishing and catching of birds. The trade in hawks was very popular.

Practically speaking there was no agriculture market in the State of Suket. The Zamidars sold their surplus produce in Bhojpur, Nagar, Panjna and Karsog. The grain was usually

15. *Ibid.*

16. *Ibid.*

17. *Ibid.*

18. *Ibid.*

19. *Ibid.*, p.89.

20. *Ibid.*

21. *Ibid.*

exported to Rampur, Bushahr for consumption for the forest labour. It was also exported to Mandi and Bilaspur. The exchange between the Suket state and the plains was on considerable degree. Carriage was being done on camels, mules, ponies and bullocks owned mainly by Lubanas of the state, who also carried slates to the Hamirpur Tehsil and Bilaspur.²²

Timber, tea, ghee, potatoes, maize and bamboo were other important goods of exports. Some miscellaneous articles, though in small number were also exported. These articles included hides, hawks, wollen goods, violets, musk, *arbamusarbar*, the most important was *rasaunt* a concoction of the root of the barberry.²³

The imports consisted mainly of European goods, household vessels of brass, copper and other metals such as gold and silver. Fine cloth was also imported from Amritsar market²⁴. The trade and commerce was mainly in the hands of Khattris, a few *bohars* and some *brahamns* were also engaged in trade. The Suket State seemed to have had a flourishing trade as a number of shopkeepers even from Kangra and Hoshiarpur District had settled there. Some Sikhs were also settled in this state as shopkeepers.

The following weights and measures were used for commercial purposes : 2 Sarsais was equivalent to 1/2 Pao; 4 Sarsais equivalent to 1 Pao, 8 Sarsais equivalent to half Seer Kacha; 16 Sarsais equivalent to 1 Seer Kacha; 8 Seers Kacha equivalent to 1 batti or Panseri, 10 Seers Kacha equivalent to 1 Dehari ; and 40 Seers Kacha was equivalent to one Maund Kacha. One Maund kacha was equivalent to 16 Seers Pakka, for grain and an iron measurement known as a *patha* was used. 20 *pathas* were equivalent to 1 lakh and 20 lakhs were equivalent to one *Khar*.²⁵

Taxes and duties were charged for the export and import of goods. Octroi was charged in the town of Sunder Nagar, outside the municipal limits, shop tax was also levied on shopkeepers. There were various grades of shop tax which vary between Rs. 5 to Rs. 40 per shop per year. It was collected by the state regularly²⁶.

Hence, trade and industry as well as transport and communication played a significant role in the life of the people of Suket State. Moreover the efforts made for the development of these activities helped the state administration to create viable and stable economy. As a result of flourishing trade and better means of communication, the state government was receiving regular taxes.

22. Lala Sidhu Ram, *Bhugol Ryasat Suket*, Dharamsala, 1924, pp.6-8.

23. *Ibid.*

24. *Ibid.*

25. *Ibid.*

26. *Punjab State Gazetteers*, Vol. XXI, A, 1904, Lahore, 1908, p.32.

AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN LATER NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES SOUTH-EAST PUNJAB

DIPAK CHATTARAJ *

This paper focuses on the factors contributed to the development of agriculture in South-East Punjab or the country lying on the western side of the River Jamuna, comprising Ambala, Delhi, Gurgaon, Hissar, Karnal and Rohtak districts, during the latter half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as well as on the regional variations of agricultural development. What was the characteristic feature of the development of agriculture? Was it anything more than an increase of acreage under the plough? How far the Zamindars did pay attention to the highly productive cultivation? These questions also find answers in the present paper.

Before proceeding, I intend throwing light on the agricultural scenario of the tract during pre-British period. On the basis of available sources, it may be argued that in the south-eastern Punjab districts there was hardly any possibility of agricultural development prior to the advent of the British. As agriculture, the single one industry of any importance, was in subsistence stage and carried on by the farmers who used to live in self-producing village communities from immemorial time. As an individual peasant had shown much care to the products which he required for his own household use and to fulfil the local demands rather than for sale, exportation of agricultural produce to the towns or the distant parts of the small country was not possible due to lack of communications and disadvantages of transportation, viz., the cart, neither railway wagon nor motor lorry, was serving as the means of conveyance.¹ The primitive and stationary atmosphere of agriculture, standing on the basis of traditional economic structure, transformed into a moving force gradually from the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century. In other words, following the establishment of British rule, the agricultural economy and agrarian population of the south-eastern Punjab experienced some momentous changes. The developments, such as, construction and remodelling of several irrigational projects, growth of an active

* Madhayamgram, 24 Pargana North, Calcutta.

1. Department of Revenue, Agriculture and Commerce, Revenue-A, July, 1871, Proceedings (Progs.) Nos. 26-27.

export trade in agricultural produce and the introduction of modern means of communications like railways, metalled roads etc., which are regarded as the pre-requisite factors for agricultural development took a definite shape under the British.

However, till about the beginning of 1880s, highlighting the expansion of agriculture in the south-eastern Punjab districts is a difficult task as there is the scantiness of the data on the one hand and on the other, available ones are notoriously unreliable. This condition was created by the policy of the Government. Because, in the matter of collecting data (about agriculture) the Government showed little interest; issued an instruction to the British settlement officers and their staff to collect the information of village agriculture. Accordingly, they collected the same but later they left the responsibility for up-dating the figures of cropping, production, etc., to their subordinate revenue official of the village known as *patwari* or 'village accountant'. The *patwari*, according to Douie, found it quite safe to register the crops and extent of cultivation without proper field - survey.² As a result, the records became fabricated. Besides, the various settlement reports, where statistics of cultivated area, information of different varieties, cropping, character of harvest etc. are available and where general considerations did not find place, were not compiled in a systematic way for the whole area.

In spite of the imperfect and unreliable data (from sixties to eighties of the nineteenth century) it is beyond doubt that agriculture in south-eastern Punjab districts received a stimulus from the remodelling and construction of the Western Jamuna Canal and Sirhind and Agra Canals³ and extension of railways and road networks. The expansion of irrigation supported the fertile thirsty plains to receive water regularly, increased the security of crops and the productivity of land in the already cultivated areas and brought the virgin and waste land under the plough. In other words, the Western Jamuna Canal and certain parts of Sirhind and Agra Canals in addition to Ghaggar inundation channel increased the agricultural growth in almost all south-eastern Punjab districts. The canal irrigated land in Hissar district, from 1892 to 1915, rose from 73,213 acres to 303,900 acres⁴. In the district of Karnal, the canal-irrigated area in 1820 was 155 acres as compared with 218,294 acres in 1900⁵. In the remaining

2. Sir James Douie, *Punjab Settlement Manual*, Lahore, 1930, p.26.

3. The Agra Canal, mainly a canal of United Provinces, was started in 1875. Taking out of the Jamuna river at Okhla near Delhi it was irrigating part of the Delhi and Gurgaon districts.

4. *An Economic Survey of Jamalpur Sheikhan - a village in the Hissar District*, Punjab Board of Economic Inquiry, Publication No. 51, Lahore, 1937, p.viii.

5. *Report on the Revision of Settlement of the Panipat Tehsil and Karnal Parganah of the Karnal District, 1872-80*, Lahore, 1883, p.51 ; *Settlement Report of the Karnal District*, 1909, Lahore, 1912, p.14.

south-eastern Punjab districts a similar picture come to our view. The development of canal-irrigation augmented the increased cultivation of commercial crops like wheat, cotton and sugarcane (which will be discussed in details, later on). Similarly, the development of transport and communications helped the movement of agricultural commodities to the outside market and made the agriculture profitable and prosperous to a certain extent.

Combined with irrigation, railways and roads a certain number of factors, such as, application of agricultural science and technology, hardworking and enterprising peasantry, increase in population, several transformations in techniques allied to agriculture, commercialisation of agriculture and above all, the establishment of Department of Agriculture (1906) in the province of Punjab⁶ had played a vital role in the development of agriculture during the period under review.

Application of agricultural science and technology stimulated agricultural development in the south-eastern Punjab under the British. Agricultural implements, as the sugarcane press, Persian wheel, fodder-cutter, plough etc., became more sophisticated, durable and light⁷ and their popularity increased day by day. Broadly speaking, these implements, in many cases, saved labour, money and time on the one hand and on the other they worked effectively.

Earlier the peasantry used the *belna* mill for sugarcane crushing. But this old mill lost its leading position immediately after the introduction of the Behia mill⁸. The traditional mill required two men and two bullocks to work while 'M/s Mylne and Thompson's machine' needed one man, a bullock or an oil engine. Besides, the latter was capable of extracting a far higher proportion of the juice from the cane ; and it was labour saving and money saving. Naturally, the zamidars were interested to buy the Behia mill and it gradually became very much popular in the different parts of the south-eastern Punjab⁹. Moreover, the labour saved by the machine at harvest time, facilitated the extension of sugarcane cultivation.

During the period under review, the Persian wheel underwent a change in its design and manufacture. The wheels were made

6. For details about the development of the Department of Agriculture in the Punjab, see Department of Revenue and Agriculture, Agriculture - A, May, 1908, Proceedings. Nos. 3-5.

7. Punjab District Gazetteer, Karnal-1918, Lahore, 1919, pp.107-09.

8. It was known as the Behia mill after a Sahabad (Bihar) estate whose proprietors Thompson and Milne had invented it.

9. Remarks by G.G. Young, Commissioner, Delhi Division, *Extracts from the Revenue (or Land Revenue) Administration Reports* (of local officers bound with the Provincial Revenue or Land Revenue Report, henceforth ERR), for 1880-81, p.2; Remarks by A.S. Roberts, Deputy Commissioner, Karnal ; ERR for 1881-82, p.5 ; Remarks by J. Frizelle, Deputy Commissioner, Ambala, ERR for 1881-82, p.12.

of iron instead of wood; and upon it the old-fashioned vessels of clay were frequently replaced by lighter and more durable buckets of tin.¹⁰ Hemp ropes and wooden gears were displaced by iron chains and iron gear wheels. The use of Persian wheel increased rapidly in the last phase of the second decade of the twentieth century as soon as iron became cheaper and the enterprising *lohars* turned it out. Whitehead, Settlement Officer, Ambala, wrote in 1917 that, in one small village he saw seven iron wheels which had been made by a local blacksmith.¹¹

Fodder-cutting was a common practice in the Haryana region because the fodder had to cut up into small pieces before they could be fed to cattle. Prior to the introduction of the chaff-cutter the peasant cut-up the fodders by hands with a knife. As intensity of agriculture increased the peasant realised many disadvantages in traditional fodder-processing. In the first place, owing to the diminution of the areas of natural pasture (as these were brought under the plough) the importance of fodder-cutting increased immensely and in this circumstances they felt much problem to cut up a huge amount of fodders by hands. Secondly, the old processing did necessarily mean wastage of time and labour ; but the importance of the two increased unusually in the transforming situations ; and lastly, wastage of more time and more energy in fodder cutting made them slow, as a consequence, they gradually legged far behind the progress. Thus, when the chaff-cutter was introduced they began to buy the same immediately. And before the outbreak of the First World War the chaff-cutter had become more or less universal.¹²

More and more number of ploughings became necessary due to the expansion of intensity of cropping. This created much pressure on the traditional plough which was made out of wood. The traditional one, that looked like a half open pen knife and just scratched the soil as a stick dragged along the ground¹³, failed to adapt itself in the new cultivation. Naturally, change became necessary in the pattern of the wooden plough. In other words, the traditional wooden plough suffered a similar fate as the Persian wheel. Iron was used instead of wood on more and more parts of the plough. Although its popularity was not equal to the chaff-cutter but this did not mean that the agriculturists were indifferent about this type of plough. In the poor district like Gurgaon more than 1600 heavy iron ploughs were to be seen in the 1920s¹⁴.

10. Dep't. of Rev. & Agri., L.R. - B, Aug. 1918, Progs. No. 19.

11. *Assessment Report of the Ropar Tehsil of the Ambala District*, Lahore, 1917, p.13.

12. See author's unpublished Ph.D. thesis entitled "Socio-Economic Transformation of the South-Eastern Districts of Punjab (1858-1919)," Rabindra Bharati University, Calcutta, 1994, p.99.

13. Dep't. of Rev. & Agri., L.R. - B, Feb., 1918, Progs. No. 5.

14. *Report on the Census of India*, 1931, Vol. XVII, Part-I, p.61.

There was a general extension in farming due to the development of agricultural science and technology. New techniques of rotation and application of the new agricultural implements were evolved to renovate the soil. The peasant was acknowledged with rotation of crops but followed in a very imperfect way - not for the sake of the soil but for the crops ; after cotton, gram and barley were generally sown ; after rice and indigo, gram ; after *jowar* and *bajra*, wheat at *gochni* or irrigated lands, and gram on unirrigated ; before and after sugarcane a grain crop was usually taken¹⁵. But now the peasants took greater care with their rotations, incorporating on a greater scale than heretofore root crops like turnips and legumes like cloves.¹⁶ They began to use the drill in the cultivation of plant crops for straightening the lines at the same depth and applying harrow for inter-culture between the lines of the plants. They became more conscious about seed selection, about ploughing, sowing, watering, weeding and manuring. For the preservation and increase of the productive power of the soil, the devastating activities of the *choes* and the water-logging were checked¹⁷.

In the agricultural economy of India the cattle power always play an important role. Thus, strong and efficient bullocks are necessary for intensive cultivation. Where there is no supply of such bullocks the agricultural development compels to suffer enormously. But the south-eastern Punjab districts faced no problem as the cattle farm of Hissar often supplied finer breed of bullock to the other parts of the tract and for that reason draught bullocks and milch cow could (some times) be seen in the village¹⁸. The cattle of Hissar not only encouraged the cultivation of Haryana but also stimulated the extensive cultivation of wheat and cotton in the Canal Colonies, considerable extension of sugarcane cultivation in the North-Western Provinces and Bihar as well as the intensive market - gardening of the submontane districts of the Punjab. During the period under study, the cattle farm in Hissar had become the leading cattle farm of the province for the remarkable advancement of veterinary science. For the same reason the livestock of the other districts was improved by cross breeding of strong and more efficient cattle.¹⁹

15. *Report on the Revised Land Revenue Settlement of the Rohtak District, 1873-79*, Lahore, 1880, pp.87-88.

16. *Administration Report of the Punjab and Its Dependencies* (hereafter PAR), for 1908-09, p.11.

17. PAR for 1929-30, p.14.

18. A.M., Stowe, *Cattle and Dairying in the Punjab*, Lahore, 1910, p.67 ; *Economics of Tractor Cultivation in the Punjab for the year 1949-50*. The Board of Economic Inquiry, Punjab, Publication No. 59, Chandigarh, 1956, p.1.

19. For example, Haryana and Dhani breeds were more important. PAR for 1897-98, 165-66. *Punjab District Gazetteer, Hissar 1883-84*, Lahore, 1884, p.49.

The enterprising, skillful and hardworking peasantry were more or less responsible for the agricultural development of this region. The peasantry were encouraged by the British Raj because they initiated land settlements which defined the proprietary rights of the individual cultivator. In accordance with those land-settlements the agrarian community was classified into four distinct categories as superior proprietors or landlords²⁰, peasant proprietors or self-cultivating peasants²¹, hereditary cultivators or occupancy tenants, and tenants-at-will²². Those settlements crystallized the changes in land tenure into the ownership of peasant proprietors²³, who held large cultivated area, constituted the backbone of the agrarian community and played a prominent role in the development of agriculture. To show their roles, in comparison with the other categories, especially with the tenants (as the non-cultivating proprietors were less interested in this matter), the two are placed side by side.

Table - I
Comparison Between The Roles of
A Peasant-proprietor and a Tenant

A peasant proprietor	A tenant
i) kept finer-breed of cattle, wastage of minimum human and cattle power and produced maximum ;	i) except a larger one, unable to keep strong and efficient cattle (due to poverty) and the wastage of both power (man and cattle) in his case was maximum ;
ii) levelled ground, rooted out weeds, followed careful rotation, allowed more fallows and used more organic manure ;	ii) did very little in these regards ;

20. The superior proprietor or non-cultivating proprietor or landlord frequently an absentee, gave his land to the tenants and was less interested in financing agricultural investment or increasing the volume of agricultural output.

21. Peasant-proprietor or self-cultivating peasant performed agricultural pursuits primarily with his family labour and his own implements, and he was able to facilitate the diffusion of high farming. M.L. Darling, *Rusticus Loquitor*, Oxford University Press, 1930, p.332.

22. The principle generally adopted was to define tenant right by a term of occupancy, and an occupation of twelve years was assumed to confer an hereditary right. The terms 'hereditary' and 'non-hereditary', as applied to the tenants, expressed the difference between the tenants having occupancy right and those merely tenants-at-will. The former, by a clause in the village administration paper, had been protected from ejectment so long as they cultivated the land and paid the rent. On the other hand, tenants-at-will were regarded as liable to summary ejectment or enhancement. Note by J.M. Douie, Settlement Officer, Karnal-Ambala, Legislative Department, Oct. 1887, Progs. No. 142.

23. A.K. Siddiqi, "Nineteenth Century Agricultural Development in the Punjab : 1850-1900", *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, July- September, 1984, Vol. XXI, No. 3, p. 293 ; C.J. Dewey, *The Settlement Literature of the Greater Punjab*, New Delhi, 1991, p. 25.

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| iii) ploughed better, used better seeds and artificial fertilizers ; | iii) tilled his land not so good as a peasant proprietor and scarcely used high yielding seeds and artificial or inorganic manure ; |
| iv) bricked his well and equipped with the iron Persian wheel; | iv) left his well unbricked and performed his agricultural activities with the traditional apparatus ; |
| v) tried to apply latest scientific and technological innovations. | v) lagged far behind in this respect than a peasant proprietor. |

Source : *Punjab District Gazetteer, Karnal - 1918*, pp. 107-09 ; H.H. Calvert, *The Wealth and Welfare of the Punjab*, Lahore, 1922, pp. 89-90 ; Darling, M.L., *Rusticus Loquitor or the Old Light and the New in the Punjab Village*, London, 1930, pp. 332-33 ; Latifi, A. *Industrial Punjab*, Lahore, 1911, pp. 194-95.

Actually, the small tenants were worse off in every respect, viz., agricultural implements, plough, cattle, etc. than the self-cultivating peasant proprietors. They, in majority cases, ploughed under the system popularly known as *dangwara*, where two tenants each owned one bullock ploughed their respective holdings on alternative days, which resulted in a lesser number of ploughings than an owner. The cultivation of such tenants was distinctly inferior to that of self-cultivating peasant proprietors.

Perhaps, the larger tenants were capable of playing an important role for the development of agriculture as they possessed enough agricultural implements, plough, bullock etc., like the peasant proprietors. But they had shown a very little interest in this respect. For instance, the proprietors as well as the tenants used manure in the cultivation of sugarcane and cotton but the former frequently did it on more larger scale than the latter. That is why the tenants were less interested in manuring because, "the manuring of land for a particular crop is also of advantage for the next crop, e.g., a plot manured for sugarcane will yield a good crop of wheat."²⁴ The tenants had no chance to reap the full benefit of manuring the land as tenancy in this part of the Punjab was for a shorter duration i.e., the contract was made from year to year. The tenants paid little or no attention to increase the productivity of land. On the contrary, they tried to get as much out of the land as possible during the period of their tenancy, leaving little fallow except after sugarcane or before wheat.

24. For an Economic Survey of Gijhi—a village in the Rohtak District, See The Board of Economic Inquiry, Punjab, Publication No. 17, Lahore, 1932, p. 82.

It is an undeniable fact that the position of a peasant proprietor was better off than a tenant as several factors were in his favour. The size of his holdings were generally larger ; his cultivated areas were relatively better ; and his economic condition was comparatively sound than that of a tenant. For political consideration and imperial interest the British Government was conducive to him. Concessions and exemptions offered by the Government, or incentives given in agriculture, or public investment, or in other words, almost every initiative of the Government regarding agriculture went largely to the favour of the peasant proprietor.²⁵

Increase in the population was more or less responsible for the extension of cultivation by breaking up waste and virgin lands and the pasture. During the period under review at least sixty two percent of the total population of the south-eastern Punjab was solely involved in agriculture and since it was by far the most important industry which took a large number of other persons to serve directly or indirectly the needs of those who engaged in cultivation.²⁶ As the new opportunities of employment in the non-agricultural sectors did not grow equally to the average rate of population growth so the job crises had simply driven the people to agriculture, the only avenue of employment and livelihood. This created much pressure on agriculture and the only solvency of this problem was to bring more and more cultivable waste and virgin lands under the plough which increased the total cultivated areas. Throughout the south-eastern part of the province there was everywhere a marked tendency to extend cultivation by breaking up common waste; and particularly in Hissar, the character of the country was gradually changing from pastoral to agricultural pursuits.²⁷ In 1852, the total cultivated area of Sirsa was 700,289 acres ; in 1880 it rose by 1,066,815 acres.²⁸ In 1862, the cultivated area of the district Rohtak was 677,555 acres, only seventeen years later, i.e., in 1879 the area increased to 906,351 acres.²⁹ *An Economic Survey of Gijhi* (a village in Rohtak) emphasized that the village had 815 acres cultivated area till the mid-half of the nineteenth century while during the first quarter of the twentieth century, it possessed 1415 acres.³⁰ Alike the village of Gijhi, the cultivated

25. Deptt. of Rev. & Agri., L.R.-A, April, 1901, Progs. Nos. 25-26.

26. *An Economic Survey of Jamalpur Sheikhan- a village in the Hissar District*, The Board of Economic Inquiry, Punjab, p.xii.

27. Remarks by Colonel W. Macniece, Commissioner, Delhi Division, *Annual Report of the Revenue (or Land Revenue) Administration of the Punjab*, (henceforth *Revenue Report*), for 1866-67, p. 5 ; Remarks by N. Smyth, Commissioner, Hissar Division, *Revenue Report for 1866-67*, p. 10.

28. Deptt. of Rev. & Agri., Rev.-A, Aug., 1882, Progs. Nos. 33-34.

29. *Punjab District Gazetteer, Rohtak-1910*, Lahore, 1910, p. 105.

30. *An Economic Survey of Gijhi - A village in the Rohtak District*. The Board of Economic Inquiry, Punjab, p.87.

areas of each and every village of the south-eastern Punjab expanded enormously due to the growth of population.

Increase in the population became conducive to the agricultural growth in another way. The population - pressure compelled the market - gardening castes, like the Arains and the Malis who worked in small - holdings, to provide basis for a highly productive agriculture in the immediate neighbourhood of the towns. They began to cultivate high-yielding crops like tobacco, sugarcane, fruits and vegetables over small areas.³¹ As heavily dependent on costly well water they were very much careful in their agricultural operations. At that time, the other agriculturists, who were the members of the high castes and whose holdings were relatively larger than that of the market gardening castes, looked down upon these low castes and could not imagine to accept their techniques of cultivation. But, when further growth of population created much pressure on them and sub-divided their holdings they willingly adopted the techniques of the Arains and the Malis for maintaining their traditional standard. The cultivator's women folk were greatly responsible for the development of agriculture. The Ahirs, Jats, Arains and Malis women assisted the peasants in the field works. They did every kind of field labours except to drive the plough or carts and dug the wells.³² In addition to this they were capable housewives. They had to prepare the meals for the family - "there was bread to be kneaded and baked, milk to be churned ; butter to be converted into *ghee*; when necessary, the early morning meal had to be taken out into the fields for the men; cattle sheds had to be cleaned ; farmyard's refuse to be taken to the collecting pit and dung-cakes to be made."³³ Generally, a Jat peasant had to be expected such kind of woman who would take hoe in hand, weed the fields in company with him. He thought :-

*"Santhi chaoul, bhains dudh, ghar kulwanti nar,
Chauthi pith tarang ki bihist nishani char ;
Gore bhojan, hej dhan, ghar kalihari nar,
Chauthi maile kapre, nark nishani char."*³⁴

("Red rice, buffalo milk, a good woman in the house and fourthly, a horse to ride, these four are heavenly things ; but extravagant living, little wealth, a bad woman in the house, and fourthly, dirty clothes, these four are hellish things"). The proverb bears the witness to the importance of a hardworking and thrifty woman who always plays an important role for the prosperity of the peasantry, that lies on the development of agriculture.

31. Deptt. of Rev. & Agri., L.R. - A, Mar., 1919, Progs. No.11.

32. Deptt. of Rev. & Agri., L.R.-A, July, 1905, Progs. Nos.20-21.

33. *An Economic Survey of Naggal — a village in the Ambala District.* The Board of Economic Inquiry, Punjab, Publication No.30, Lahore, 1933, p.17.

34. K.S., Bedi, *Agricultural Proverbs of the Punjab*, Chandigarh, 1962, p.102.

Certain transformations took place in agricultural technology which acted as the source of agricultural growth. Of these, the three were the most notable. First, transformation occurred in water-lifting technology. For deeper lifts the Persian wheel replaced the *charsa* (the leather bag was raised and lowered by a team of bullocks walking up and down a ramp) and for shallow lifts *dhenkli* (the counterpoise lift) replaced the *jhatta* (the hide scoop).³⁵ Secondly, there was a change in the cotton processing. For years, the peasants were accustomed to the traditional roller - gin for separating the fibre from the bolls of the indigenous cotton. But it became useless after the introduction of high yielding varieties because it was unable to do so. As the cultivation of these new types increased the old roller-gin was replaced by saw gins, capable of working smoothly. Thirdly, the primitive type conveyance underwent a change. The agrarian community transformed the shape of the traditional cart - the crude field cart with its triangular frame and low capacity was joined, for longer hauls, by heavy road carts - huge pneumatic - tyred, multi-yoked pan technicons.³⁶

During the period under review commercialization of agriculture began to take shape and served as a catalytic agent in the development of agriculture. The advancement of modern means of communications, the railways, road networks and steamships, the new market forces, the new tariff policy, along with "the enthusiastic response of the peasantry led to the commercial revolution in agriculture."³⁷ With the advent of the railways a new era was initiated in the external trade of the country. The metalled roads further stimulated the trend. The steamships combined with the railways brought England and India much closer to each other for trading purposes. The external trade was encouraged by the extension of modern steamships and it was possible because a considerable number of sailing vessels came from England to India.

The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 shortened the sea-route between England and India over three thousand miles, lessen freight charges drastically (e.g., before 1869 the freight rates of the cargo of rice and wheat from Calcutta to Liverpool was \$55, later on, the rates fell to \$27 or less than one-half and revolutionized the export trade of the country. Another important development was the introduction of telegraphic communications between England and India (1855) which further broadened the contact and cautioned the grain - dealers against fluctuations of the prices in the long markets.³⁸ Since 1880, the wholesale

35. Deptt. of Rev & Agri., L.R. - B, Aug., 1918, Progs. No.19.

36. For details, see *Livestock Census of the Punjab*, 1935, Lahore, 1936, Chapter-III.

37. *Report on the Census of India*, 1921, Vol. XV, Part-I, p.17.

38. *Punjab Report in Reply to Inquiries issued by the Famine Commission*, Vol. II, Lahore, 1879, p.754.

merchants (whose business was of larger size) started ordering goods by telegrams from England and India.³⁹ Generally speaking, the development of telegraphic communications had an enormous effect on the growth of commercial agriculture.

The tariff policy of the British Government also stimulated the export trade of the province. The Government of India, from the sixties of the nineteenth century, either abolished or decreased the excise and export duties on the commodities⁴⁰ of daily consumption. As a result, almost every article, except alcoholic consumption, salt, drugs and luxuries, became duty free. This changing policy along with the price rise of agricultural produce led to a significant change in the cropping - pattern. Now, the peasants paid much attention to grow the cash crops for the orientation towards market.

Transformation in the cropping pattern came through the transference of the available land for the expanded cultivation of wheat, cotton and sugarcane. For instance, in Rohtak, the two principal crops, viz., jowar and bajra, covered 371,825 and 260,793 acres respectively, in 1879 ; thirty years later, i.e., in 1909, the former occupied 145,411 acres and the latter, 210,904 acres⁴¹ - most of the remaining land had devoted to cash crops. In Delhi, out of 89 percent, (the rest eleven percent was made up of 5 percent fodder, 1 percent chillies and tobacco in about equal shares and 5 percent fruit, vegetables and miscellaneous product), 45 percent or more than one-half was covered by cash crops, particularly wheat (29 percent), cotton (11 percent), and sugarcane (5 percent).⁴² In Gurgaon, cotton and sugarcane became the chief *kharif* crops, while at the *rabi*, wheat and barley. Of these, cotton and wheat occupied the largest *nahri* lands, the percentage was nearly 50.⁴³ During the last phase of our study, the dominant crops in the district of Karnal were wheat, cotton and sugarcane. The cultivated area which increased to 14 percent in between 1879-1909 had chiefly gone to the favour of these crops.⁴⁴ According to the Report of the Deputy Commissioner (1901) of Hissar, the canal irrigated area in that district was occupied almost entirely by cotton.⁴⁵ The *Economic Inquiry of Naggal*, a village in the Ambala district, indicated that in 1921-

39. *Report on Internal Trade and Manufactures in the Punjab, 1880-81*, Lahore, 1881, p.14 ; *Proceedings, P.W.D.*, Sept. 1880, Nos. 27-28.

40. *Parliamentary Papers, Paper Relating to the Trade of British India with British Possessions and Foreign Countries*, 1893, Vol. LXVI, 21 ; R.K. Kapoor, *A History of Excise System in the Punjab*, Lahore, 1930, pp.17-19.

41. *Final Report of the Third Regular Settlement of the Rohtak District, 1905-10*, Lahore, 1910, p.36.

42. *Punjab District Gazetteer, Delhi - 1912*, Lahore, 1912, p.109.

43. *Final Report of the Third Regular Settlement of the Gurgaon District, 1903-09*, Lahore, 1910, p.7.

44. *Settlement Report of the Karnal District, 1909*, p.15.

45. *Punjab Season and Crops Report for 1902-03*, p.4.

22, the cultivation of cotton increased to about 2½ times than that of 1886-87.⁴⁶

The cultivation of cotton increased so dramatically that the cleaning and pressing of cotton became the main industry in certain districts of the south-eastern Punjab⁴⁷. In Hissar district, there were 22 factories of which 13 were at Hansi, 5 at Bhiwani, 2 at Hissar, 1 at Narnaund in the Hansi tehsil and 1 at Uklana in the Hissar tehsil.⁴⁸ In Karnal, the cotton-ginning industry dates only from 1897 when the first ginning factory was started at Panipat. In 1899 another was erected at Samalkha. The number of these concerns increased largely after 1902. There were 11 factories and pressing machines in the district in 1918 of which 3 ginning factories and 1 press were in Panipat, 1 at Samalkha, 3 at Kaithal, 2 at Karnal and 1 at Dhatrat.⁴⁹

In regard to manure as well as to irrigation the peasants gave priority to wheat, sugarcane and cotton. They manured those crops to their best. On the canal, these accounted for 70 percent of the irrigation.

It is important to note that this trend (of cropping - pattern) was started immediately after the outbreak of the American Civil War (1861-64). As a result of the war there was a great demand of Indian cotton and consequently, the prices and cultivated area of cotton increased remarkably. During 1861-62 the cotton trade of the Punjab increased about 14 times, while the increase in the cotton cultivation in the early 1860s was three times.⁵⁰ Due to unnatural height of demand the prices of cotton rose to threefold or more.⁵¹ But with the cessation of the war and normalisation of trade relations of England with the United States of America the prices of Indian cotton reduced drastically and so did the area and export trade. The following table shows the area, trade and price during the civil war and post - civil war period :

46. *An Economic Survey of Naggal - a village in the Ambala District*, The Board of Economic Inquiry, Punjab, p.29.

47. The development of cotton-ginning industry in the first quarter of the twentieth century, in accordance with the Report of the Indian Tariff Board, was due to world factors or, in other words, was flexion from the hectic world-wide boom. *Report of the Indian Tariff Board, 1927, Vol.I, Calcutta, 1927, p.10* ; *Report on the Internal Trade of the Punjab by Rail and River for 1907-08, p.4*.

48. *Deptt. of Rev. & Agri., L.R.-A, July, 1906, Progs. Nos. 65-66* ; *Punjab District Gazetteer, Hissar-1915, Lahore, 1915, p.176*.

49. *Punjab District Gazetteer, Karnal-1918, p.132*.

50. *PAR for 1861-62, pp.173-74*.

51. *Report on the Revised Land Revenue Settlement of the Rohtak District, 1873-79, p.121* ; *PAR for 1864-65, p.118* ; *PAR for 1877-78, pp.106-07*.

Table - II
Area, Trade and Price of Cotton in The Punjab During
American Civil War and Post-Civil War Period

Period	Area in Acres	Export in maunds	Price per maund
Civil War period (1862-63 to 1864-65)	8,91,082	2,90,829	32
Post-Civil War period (1865-66 and 1866-67)	6,24,193	2,59,976	7

Source : Figures taken from PAR of the respective years.

The above figures indicate that the cultivation of cotton was severely affected with the ending of the American Civil War ; but this did not necessarily mean that it decreased gradually in the subsequent years. Owing to the higher price and favourable acreage, as the two were much more than the pre-civil war period, the cotton was becoming a more important one among the cash crops. In 1869-70, the cultivated area of cotton was 8,11,749 acres; by 1919-20 it increased to 2,070,527 acres.⁵² Following the rapid extension of its cultivation, the volume of the export trade increased dramatically and so also the price. In 1919-20, only a half century later of the cessation of the American Civil War, the total volume of export amounted to 2,506,549 *maunds* and in the same year the prices rose to Rs. 13-5-0 per *maund*.⁵³ Similarly, the cultivated areas of wheat between 1876-77 and 1919-20 increased from 6,600,000 acres to 8,812,803 acres and the area under sugarcane cultivation between 1878-79 and 1919-20 increased from 3,80,579 acres to 4,81,525 acres respectively.⁵⁴ The price and export of wheat also increased considerably. In the fifties of the nineteenth century the price was approximately confined to Rs. 0-15-0 per *maund* and it rose to Rs. 4-15-0 in 1919-20.⁵⁵ The volume of export between 1882-83 and 1918-19 rose from 4,101 thousands of *maunds* to 175 lakhs of *maunds*.⁵⁶ In 1890-91, the country imported 474,180 *maunds* of sugar from foreign countries, while in the beginning of 1918, about 517,385

52. Revenue Report for 1869-70, p.45 ; Punjab Season and Crops Report for 1919-20, p.4.

53. Owing to good harvests and restricted exports, prices were lower in 1919-20 than the preceding year. The average price of cotton fell from Rs. 14-12-0 to Rs. 13-5-0. Punjab Season and Crops Report for 1919-20, p. 6 ; Dep't. of Rev. & Agri., L.R.-A, Feb., 1918, Progs. No.4.

54. PAR for 1877-78, pp. 101-02 ; Revenue Report for 1878-79, Statement XXIX ; Punjab Season and Crops Report for 1920-21, p.5.

55. PAR for 1894-95, pp.106-07 ; Report on the Internal Trade of the Punjab by Rail and River for 1919-20, p.3 ; Punjab Season and Crops Report for 1919-20, p.6.

56. Report on Internal Trade and Manufacture in the Punjab for 1883-84, p.6 ; Report on the Internal Trade of the Punjab by Rail and River, Triennial Report : 1916-17 to 1918-19, p.3.

tons was available for the consumption in the Punjab.⁵⁷ Thus, we may say that cash crops, as wheat, cotton and sugarcane were widely cultivated, replaced the inferior crops and gained wider currency (e.g., in 1920-21, the value of exported wheat was £ 9 millions, whereas in 1851 the total exports of the Punjab, both agricultural and non-agricultural were £ 244,000 only).⁵⁸

Henceforth, needless to say that, to change the agricultural environment of the province the south-eastern Punjab districts also played an important role like the other parts of the province. According to the notes on Indian cotton, of the important cotton growing districts of the province, Rohtak, Gurgaon and Ambala were the most remarkable districts as they were growing the largest area i.e., over 40,000 acres.⁵⁹ We have pointed out elsewhere that the peasants of almost all south-eastern Punjab districts tried their best to increase the production as well as the areas of wheat and sugarcane because they certainly received a stimulus from the growing demand in distant markets and high prices of those products. Generally, the zamidars sold 75 percent of their cotton, 75 of wheat and 50 of cane.⁶⁰ The products were mainly purchased by small traders or the village dealers and conveyed to the markets of Delhi, Ambala City and Ambala Cantonment. Karnal town and Panipat, on the Delhi-Ambala - Kalka Railway, were also the chief marts and a good deal of trade came by the way of Kaithal, through which ran the railway from Narwana to Thanesar. To carry the produce the traders or dealers hired bullock carts since they did not own carts of their own. The hire of a bullock cart with a carrying capacity of 18 *maunds* of cotton was about Rs. 4/- per journey.⁶¹ Relevantly, it is important to note that the cultivators especially the Jats did not sell their produce to the traders but they carried a considerable traffic to the markets for the purpose of earning more money. All the loads coming from the villages were sold through an *ahrtia* (broker).⁶² In certain cases, there was a special broker in the market who acted as the agent of a particular village.

In the twentieth century, research and education, sponsored by the Department of Agriculture, and the establishment of agricultural colleges, major experimental farms and cattle

57. *Report on Internal Trade and Manufacture in the Punjab for 1891-92*, p.2 ; *Punjab Season and Crops Report for 1917-18*, p.4.

58. M.L. Darling, *The Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt*, Oxford University Press, 1925, p.174.

59. *Notes on Indian Cotton for 1887*, p.35.

60. Deputt. of Rev. and Agri., L.R.-A, March, 1911, Progs. No. 11 ; *Assessment Report of the Ambala Tehsil of the Ambala District*, 1919, Lahore, 1919, p.20.

61. *An Economic Survey of Naggal - a village in the Ambala District*, The Board of Economic Inquiry, Punjab, p.94.

62. For details, see *Market Practices in the Punjab*, The Board of Economic Inquiry, Punjab, Publication No.36, Lahore, 1934, pp.3-5.

breeding farms made a considerable headway to the development of agriculture in different parts of the Punjab.⁶³ The Department was responsible for the breakthroughs in indigenous crops especially in wheat and cotton. In this direction, the Department of Land Records and Agriculture (1885) of the Punjab took initial step in 1880s - when Indian wheat first entered in the world market in large quantities⁶⁴ - and sent a questionnaire to all districts to collect systematic information of local wheats in different parts of the province.⁶⁵

This step of the Department laid the foundation for Howards, Albert and Gabrielle, man and woman's scientific classification (1906-10) of the several hundred distinct varieties of indigenous wheat. And from that classification they had chosen two wheats which were better to that of the other indigenous varieties in field characteristics (resistance to wind, drought and rust), grain characteristics (yield, colour, size, weight and consistency) milling and baking qualities.⁶⁶ Howards, man and wife, carried on researches at the Pusa Imperial Station for the purpose of improving indigenous types and producing new and better varieties of these types as well as of introducing new crops. Besides, they tried to improve the selected varieties by cross-breeding and hybridization. They conducted experiments of this nature and as a result, there was the propagation of the famous improved varieties, viz., Pusa 4 and Pusa 12. Within a short time the 'Pusa Wheats' spread rapidly and occupied over a million acres by the First World War. But the leading position of these wheats did not last long. D. Milne, in collaboration with Sir Albert Howard and his wife, were absorbed in exploring new kind of wheat and in the year 1913 they released a wheat known as Punjab 11. In 1919 the another variety, the famous Punjab 8A, was released by them. Both these new varieties gained much popularity⁶⁷, however, the former had a great demand in the riverine tract of the south-eastern Punjab districts and it had won a dominant position till 1925.⁶⁸

The improved varieties of wheat introduced by the Department gave higher yield than the indigenous one. For example, Punjab 11 and Punjab 8A yielded produce worth Rs.

63. The Punjab Provincial Department of Agriculture, which was created in 1906, had an agricultural college, several major experimental farms including those at Hansi and Hissar, cattle-breeding farms at Hissar and Karnal, eight demonstration farms and a staff for teaching and research in every branch of agricultural science. *Report on the Census of India*, 1931, Vol. XVII, Part-I, pp.32-33.

64. *Parliamentary Papers*, the Further papers on Indian Wheat, 1883, Vol. L, p.755.

65. *Report on the Marketing of Wheat in the Punjab*, 1940, pp.282-83.

66. Albert and Gabrielle Howard, *Wheat in India*, Calcutta, 1911, p.17.

67. *Indian Trade Journal*, Vol. LXXVII, No.981, April, 1925, (henceforward I.T.J.), p.33.

68. Resolution on the Report on the operations of the Department of Agriculture, June, 1926, I.T.J., Vol. LXXXVI, No. 1102, Aug., 1927.

15/- per acre more than the native varieties.⁶⁹ Again, of these two, 8A was a better yielder of both grain and straw on average quality of land either irrigated or unirrigated.⁷⁰ In view of the fact pointed out by the Director that at a moderate estimate "it yields 1½ to 2 maunds of wheat more per acre than Punjab 11".⁷¹

The experiment of cotton was started in the late nineteenth century when indigenous cotton of India entered in the international markets. The Government of India took positive steps for increasing the quality and quantity of Indian cotton after the pressure created by the Lancashire mill owners and was responded with a programme of cotton development. Regarding the acclimatization of American cottons several attempts were also made at that time. But every American cotton, except one, the so-called Dharwar cotton, failed to survive due to unfavourable combination of climate and soil factors as well as of internal nutritional disorders.⁷² Observing the survival of Dharwar cotton, Milne took decision that if one American cotton (Dharwar) was able to acclimatize so another should be capable of surviving in Indian climate. And he continued uninterruptedly his researches on cotton and was successful in propagating a hybrid from a number of American varieties, the famous Indian cotton of the time, Punjab 4F.⁷³ As it was too greedy for water so it spread primarily in the Canal Colonies and in the areas where sufficient water was available perennially.

The Department of Agriculture isolated superior indigenous varieties, such as Rosea Bhatla Selection, M60A2 and M62C1, within a few years, and distributed the same among the peasants of the different parts of the Punjab.⁷⁴ According to the *Punjab Season and Crops Report*, the total sown area of cotton, by the closing years of our period, rose by 25 percent or more.⁷⁵ In the important cotton growing districts of the south-eastern Punjab, as Rohtak, Gurgaon and Ambala, the percentage of actual yield per acre on the normal varied in the case of American cotton from 55 to 130 on irrigated and from 60 to 65 on unirrigated, and in the case of indigenous cotton, 60 to 100 on irrigated and

69. H.H., Calvert, *The Wealth and Welfare of the Punjab*, Lahore, 1922, p.184.

70. Per-acre yield of 8A was 32 maunds and 21 seers. Department of Agriculture, Punjab, *Annual Report of the Agricultural Experimental Farm, Sirsa*, 1930, pp.3,20.

71. Review of the Annual Report on the Operations of the Department of Agriculture, I.T.J., Vol. LXXIII, No.930, April, 1924, p.66.

72. Indian Central Cotton Committee : *A Preliminary Note on Cotton Failure in the Punjab and some Abnormalities in the Plant*, Vol. 11, Part.II, 1936, p.377.

73. D. Filne, *A Brief Outline of the Agricultural Conditions in the Punjab*, Lahore, 1927, pp.9-10.

74. The yield of Rosea Bhatla Selection, M60A2 and M62C1, on an acre, was 20 maunds, 6 seers, 1 chhatak ; 16 maunds, 17 seers, 9 chhataks and 16 maunds, 16 seers, 4 chhataks respectively. Deptt. of Agriculture, Punjab, *Annual Report of the Agricultural Experimental Farm, Sirsa*, 1930, p.7.

75. *Punjab Season and Crops Report for 1917-18*, p.4.

30 to 100 on unirrigated lands.⁷⁶

In south-eastern Punjab districts, sugarcane was becoming popular for years and therefore its seeds were much in demand. With a view to supplying improved varieties, researches were carried on at the cane breeding station at Karnal and agricultural experimental farm at Hissar. As a result, a certain numbers of varieties, such as, co.223, co.213, co.227, co.243, co.244, co.285 and co.205, were released. Of these improved varieties co.244 gave the highest yield and was very closely followed by co.205 as the following figures show :

Table - III
Yield of improved varieties of sugarcane

Name of variety	Yield per acre		
	<i>Maunds</i>	<i>Seers</i>	<i>Chhataks</i>
co.244	94	27	6
co.205	94	14	9
co.243	90	39	6
co.285	85	14	11
co.213	81	23	7
co.223	80	38	2
co.227	65	29	3

Source : Department of Agriculture, Punjab, *Annual Report of Agricultural Experiment Farm. Sirsa, 1930, p.12.*

In 1918, the Department also brought high yielding varieties of sugarcane which were isolated at Coimbatore cane breeding station. Of the imported varieties, Pona, Kao and Coimbatore were the most important. The Punjab peasantry began to sow these new types considerably from 1920. In the same year the sown area of sugarcane increased by 14 percent as compared with the normal.⁷⁷ Imported varieties of sugarcane came from south India, played an important role for substantial increase in the output of this valuable crop. These new types yielded 80 percent more sugar per acre than the usual Punjab types.

During the period under review the development of agriculture in the south-eastern Punjab varied considerably from district to district and even tehsil to tehsil. The extent of development in the three districts, namely, Delhi, Karnal and Rohtak, out of six, the remaining three are, Gurgaon, Ambala and Hissar, was remarkable. In Delhi, the cultivated area of the district increased by 10 percent in between 1880 to 1905.⁷⁸ The following figures will illustrate the growth of the cultivated area in the Karnal district since 1879 :

76. *Punjab Season and Crops Report for 1921-22*, p.5 ; I.T.J., LXXXVII, No.1113, Oct., 1927, p.102.

77. *Punjab Season and Crops Report for 1920-21*, p.4.

78. Deptt. of Rev. & Agri., L.R.-A, July, 1906. *Progs.* Nos. 61-62.

Table - IV

Increase of cultivated area in Karnal district in
between 1879 to 1909

Name	1879	1889	1909
	Acres	Acres	Acres
Panipat tehsil	158,512	...	180,521
Karnal pargana	99,680	...	134,471
Indri pargana	...	139,939	138,164
Thanesar tehsil	...	206,430	212,202
Kaithal tehsil	...	390,060	446,695

Source : *The Settlement Report of the Karnal District, 1909* p.15.

The increase of cultivation in the Rohtak district was much more dramatic. Here, it amounted to 43 percent or more. The total cultivated area, in 1905, was 972, 646 acres against 677, 555 acres recorded in 1862.⁷⁹ The improvement in the character of the crops was even more remarkable. According to Stow, the Settlement Officer, Karnal (1912), "the relative proportions of the different crops have undergone considerable change since last settlement. The increase in the three valuable staples, wheat, cane and cotton, is evidence of the steadily growing wealth of the district".⁸⁰ The yield per acre rose by fifty percent on the lands which received water from any means of irrigation— wells, tanks or canals.⁸¹

In the districts of Gurgaon, Ambala and Hissar an opposite picture comes to the view. In these districts, the cultivated area increased in years of favourable rainfall and when there were scarcity of rains the area decreased greatly. For instance, in Hissar, the cultivated area in 1873-74 increased by 5 percent whereas in 1878-79, it decreased by 14 percent.⁸² Similarly, in Gurgaon, the cultivated area in the year 1868 was 935,000 acres; in 1883 it had fallen to 633,000 acres⁸³. In Ambala, the area under cultivation had practically been stationary since 1887-88 the average harvested area had decreased off by 9.1 percent (in 1887-88, 783,795 acres; in 1913-14, 715, 973 acres).⁸⁴ By the end of our period, the increase of total cultivated area in the district of Hissar was little below 7 percent. This was, however, mainly confined to the *rohi* (heavy clay-lands) circle.⁸⁵ More than 85 percent of cultivation in these districts was unirrigated, rain played a predominant role in their agricultural economy. The acreage under the *kharif* was not less than 65 percent ; (the remaining

79. Deptt. of Rev. & Agri., L.R.-A, July, 1905, Progs. Nos. 20-21.

80. *The Settlement Report of the Karnal District, 1909*, p.15.

81. *Punjab District Gazetteer, Rohtak-1910*, p.104.

82. *Punjab District Gazetteer, Hissar - 1883-84*, Lahore, 1884, Statistical Table No. 11.

83. Deptt. of Rev. & Agri., Rev.-A, Mar., 1889, Progs. No. 59.

84. Deptt. of Rev. & Agri., L.R.-A, June, 1915, Progs. No.24.

85. Deptt. of Rev. & Agri., L.R.-A, June, 1918, Progs. Nos. 4-5.

was under the *rabi*).⁸⁶ The failure of crops was the rule of the tract. The following table is an eloquent proof of this point :

Table - V
Failure of crops in Ambala district (1918)

Name of the tehsils	Percentage failed
Ambala	24
Naraingarh	20
Kharar	19
Rupar	16

Source : *Department of Revenue and Agriculture, Land Revenue-A, March, 1919, Progs. No. 10.*

In these districts, the extent of cultivation of more remunerative crops like wheat, cotton and sugarcane was very meagre.⁸⁷ In other words, the said ones no longer formed the major crops like the central Punjab and Canal Colonies, but the low value food crops, as *bajra*, gram and *jowar*, and fodder crops predominated. The following table shows the average acreage under various crops in Hissar in the thirties of the twentieth century :

Table - VI

Average acreage under various crops in the 1930s in Hissar district.

Crops	Acreage	Percent to sown
<i>Bajra</i>	907,138	34.6
Gram	700,103	26.7
Fodders	384,546	14.7
Wheat	122,439	4.7
<i>Jowar</i>	105,680	4.0
Barley	100,074	3.8
Pulses	114,368	4.4
Cotton	85,338	3.3

Source : *An Economic Survey of Jamalpur Sheikhan, a village in the Hissar District. X.*

There was no marked difference between the cultivation of Hissar and Gurgaon during the last phase of our study. The latter did not represent itself as a wheat-growing district like the former due to the lack of irrigation; *bajra*, gram, barley, i.e., the inferior crops were the principal ones of the district.

86. *Punjab District Gazetteer, Gurgaon - 1910*, Lahore, 1910, p.97.

87. *PAR for 1911-12*, pp.14-15.

Table - VII

The principal crops of Gurgaon, produced in the first quarter of the twentieth century

Name of the crop	Percentage of annual sown
Bajra	33
Gram	16
Barley	13½
Jowar	10
Pulses	11
Fodders	8
Cotton	7
Wheat	5

Source : Figures taken from *Settlement Report* (1910), *District Gazetteer* (1911), *Village Survey* (1936) and *District Census Handbooks* (1951).

During the period under review, more arid, cultivable - waste and virgin land had to be brought under the plough, (the increase in the area under cultivation was 40 to 50 percent or more), which were obviously determined the development of agriculture in different districts of the south-eastern Punjab. The most noteworthy characteristic of the development of agriculture was that it was primarily a development (in the sense) of increase an acreage under the plough. Broadly speaking, none paid much attention to intensive cultivation. Because, there was no instantaneous adoption of latest appliances ; no immediate application of high - yielding varieties and inorganic fertilizers ; above all, no sweeping introduction of rotation of crops as well as methods of cultivation. Little or no progress had been made to the improvement of agricultural implements; with the exception of sugarcane press these seemed largely stereotyped and most of them were made by the village artisans. Generally, high-yielding varieties were not used by the cultivators. They simply sowed whatever they had in their stock. The use of inorganic fertilizers was little or not at all known to them. The manure mainly used were cow-dung, house and lane sweepings, ashes and farmyard refuse. Regarding definite crop rotation, the farmers pursued an opportunist policy - they liked to alternate what they called *balwala* crops (cereals having ears or spikes of corn, e.g., wheat, barley, maize) with *phaliwala* staples (having pods ; pulses, cotton and gram), that is to say, they were familiar with the benefit derived from the land for leguminous crops. Above all, the great numbers of zamidars in south-eastern Punjab districts were slack, apathetic and out of touch with modern methods. Bulk of them engaged themselves in the traditional pattern of cultivation, paid much attention to produce those crops which would fulfil their own demands, and were careless for the highly productive cultivation.

PURPOSE OF GODFREY THOMAS VIGNE'S TRAVELS IN KASHMIR, LADAKH AND BALISTAN (1835-39)

DR K.S. BAJWA*

Godfrey Thomas Vigne (1801-1863), was born in 1801 A.D. at Walthamstow Essex. He was the eldest son of Thomas Vigne. He joined the Harrow School in 1817 A.D. On December 23rd, 1818 A.D., he was admitted to Lincoln's Inn, and was called to the bar in 1824 A.D. Nothing is known for next seven years of his career. However, he started his career as a traveller which earned him great reputation. In 1831 A.D., he went to the United States of America, visited New York, Washington, Cincinnati and thence proceeded down the St. Lawrence to Quebec. The account of his journey entitled *Six Months in America* was published at London in 1832 A.D.¹

On 16th October, 1832 A.D., he left Southampton for India. Not much is known about the ways and means through which he reached the North-West frontier of India. However, he passed through France from Normandy to Marseilles and experienced a first seasoning to more than European heat in the quarantine ground of Malta.² After passing through Persia, he reached Bombay on 1st January 1833 A.D. Thus he spent two and a half month on the way.³

A year and a half, he spent in travelling through different parts of India. Around the middle of the year 1835 A.D., we find him at Subathu, as a guest of Dr Gerard. From Subathu, he marched on to Shimla to stay with Capt. C.P. Kennedy, the then Political Agent of Shimla. At Merrut, on his way from Delhi to Shimla, Vigne had been informed that Maharaja Ranjit Singh had no objection of his crossing the river Satluj to visit the province of Kashmir. From Shimla, he hastened to Ludhiana to be the guest of Capt. C.M. Wade, the then British Political Agent. He stayed there until the requisite permission to cross the Satluj arrived from Lahore.⁴

* Incharge, Sikh History Research Department, Khalsa College, Amritsar.

1. Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee (eds.), *Dictionary of National Biography*, London, 1917, Vol. XX, p.309.

2. G.T. Vigne, *Travels in Kashmir, Ladak, Iskardo, the Countries Adjoining the mountain course of the Indus and the Himalyas, North of the Punjab*, 2 Vols., London, 1842, I, 3 (hereafter *Travels*),

3. *Ibid.*, pp.19,22.

4. *Ibid.*, I, pp.28,40,46.

At Ludhiana, Capt. C.M. Wade encouraged him to continue his journey through the valley of Kashmir to Iskardu, the capital of Little Tibet. He made up his mind 'in a moment'.⁵ On the evening of 1st June, 1835 A.D., Vigne left Ludhiana for his first mountainous journey. By the end of the same year or in the beginning of 1836 A.D., he was back to Ludhiana, after visiting Kashmir and Little Tibet.⁶

On 12th March, 1836 A.D., he left for Afghanistan and appears to be back in India by the end of the same year, as we find him again in Little Tibet for the second time in 1837 A.D.⁷ He met Baron Charles Hugel at Kashmir and accompanied him to Lahore and thence to Ludhiana.⁸ After staying sometime at Ludhiana, Vigne again asked the Maharaja to permit him to visit Kashmir. The permission was granted but with due reluctance. Around the middle of 1838 A.D., he was again in Kashmir. However, by the end of 1838 A.D., he left the valley, once for all and reached Ludhiana in March 1839 A.D. From Ludhiana he dispatched a letter of thanks to the Maharaja for kindness and liberality he had shown towards him.⁹

From Ludhiana, Vigne accompanied G. Churchill, Quartermaster-General of her Majesty's Artillery in India. Both of them sailed in the Indus from Ferozepur on 30th of March 1839 A.D. On 23rd of April, 1839 A.D. they were at Hyderabad. On 7th of May, 1839 A.D. they were at Bombay. Thence Vigne sailed in the Atlanta steamer. On 3rd of June, 1839 A.D. he reached Aden, stayed at Alexandria in Egypt for a week. In September 1839 A.D., he was at England. In all, Vigne spent six years, eleven months and twenty days in his Asian travels out of these seven years, he spent nearly four years in or around the dominion of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.¹⁰

In England, he got published the experiences of his Asian Travels.¹¹ As an author, he was familiar with the works of Prinsep, Forster, A. Barnes, James Tod, W. Moorcroft, Elphinstone, Wilson, C. Masson, Dr Hederson, Desideri, Bernier, Taylor, Woolf, Abul Fazal etc. However, nothing is known about his activities for the next twelve years. But we find him again travelling in the West Indies, Mexico, New Orleans and New York in the years 1852-53 A.D. In Nicaragua, he encountered the filibusters and made the

5. *Ibid.*, II, p.195.

6. G.T. Vigne, *A Personal Narrative of A Visit to Ghazni, Kabul and Afghanistan*, London 1840 (hereafter *Narrative*, 2 ; Also, *Travels*, I, p.51.

7. *Travels*, II, pp.107-08.

8. Vigne, *Travels*, I, pp.235-36 ; *Narratives*, p.7 ; B.C. Hugel, *Travels in Cashmere and the Punjab, Containing a particular Account of the Character and Government of the Sikhs* (tr. & ed. T.B. Javris), Patiala 1970, p.98 ; V.S. Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, (tr), Chandigarh 1974, Daftar III, pp.267-68, 269-70.

9. Vigne, *Travels* I, 64 ; II, pp.95, 108, 403 ; Suri, *op.cit.*, pp.552, 613, 649-50.

10. *Travels*, II, pp.403, 410, 415, 418, 427-28.

11. Works already referred as *Travels and Narrative*.

acquaintance of General Walker of whom he gives a vivid sketch.¹²

At the age of sixty two, Vigne died at Oaks Voodford Essex, on 12th July, 1863 A.D. At that time, he was preparing an account of his recent travels for the press, entitled *Travels in Mexico and South America*. It was published in London in the same year.¹³

His biographer wrote that 'he was neither professional author nor a commissioned tourist. He travelled for amusement, saw much and was assisted in his observations by the possession of some knowledge of science'.¹⁴ Vigne himself admits in his works that he was travelling 'independent of the company' and for his own 'pleasure'.¹⁵ Similar views have been expressed by the author of *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*. But his purpose to travel in the dominions of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and in the adjoining territories e.g. Iskardo, Ladakh and Afghanistan was much more than the avowed motives.¹⁶ A letter written by Alexander Burnes from Kabul (then British Resident at Kabul) to Vigne dated 16th September 1841 A.D. created doubts about his real purpose. Burnes wrote that he was looking with 'great anxiety' for his map and book relating to Kashmir and Gilgit, which to him was the most interesting part of his wanderings. Also, it was expected 'to fill up the great blank'.¹⁷ Furthermore, in his reply to Alexander Burnes, Vigne wrote that he had done 'his best in furtherance of his objects he alludes too'.¹⁸

However, one of Vigne's objective of visiting Little Tibet (Iskardo) was to ascertain the degree of anxiety which its ruler had have for the friendship of the British Indian Government.¹⁹ Infact the conquest of Kashmir by Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1819 A.D. had alarmed the ruler of Ladakh as to that of the Little Tibet.¹⁹ He was convinced that his country would be the next target of Ranjit Singh's policy of agrandisement. In order to save himself from any such eventuality, the Balti ruler tried to cultivate friendship with the British in order to seek protection from them. When William Moorcroft was residing in Ladakh during 1820-22 A.D., Ahmed Shah, the Balti ruler, sent him a present of gold-dust and proffered his services. Moorcroft did not encourage the offers, as these would have given umbrage to the ruler of Ladakh who at that time was at war with Balistan.²⁰ But he wrote an

12. *Dictionary of National Biography*, XX, p.309.

13. *Loc. cit.*

14. *Op.cit.*

15. *Travels*, I, pp.19, 113-14; II, pp.71, 236.

16. V.S. Suri, *Ibid.*, pp.237, 242, 267, 270, 348, 376, 434-35, 452, 449-60, 552, 613.

17. *Travels*, I, iii.

18. *Ibid.*, iv.

19. *Ibid.*, II, p.195.

20. W. Moorcroft and G. Trebeck, *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and the Punjab, in Ladak and Kashmir, in Peshawar, Kabul, Kanduz and Bokhara from 1819 to 1825*, Patiala, 1970, pp. 271-72.

ambiguous letter to Ahmed Shah holding out promises of British support. Ever since, the Balti ruler continued to expect British help. In 1835 A.D., Ahmed Shah wrote to C.M. Wade, the Governor-General's Agent at Ludhiana: 'It must not be concealed that from the beginning I have been moved by an anxiety beyond bounds to connect myself with the well-wishers and faithful servants of your Government by ties of friendship and to identify myself with reserves with their interests'.²¹ When C.M. Wade read this letter to Vigne, he at once made up his mind to visit this place which 'no European had visited earlier'.²²

However, Ahmed Shah gave Vigne an 'exceedingly kind and flattering hospitality', with the belief that he was an officer of the company 'to investigate the pretension to friendship and provide protection against the Sikhs'.²³ He told Vigne that 'he had all his life prayed that he might set eyes on a Feringhi before he died, and that now his wish was granted'.²⁴ But Vigne told him that he was not in a position 'to enter into any arrangements, either with or for him ; However, he promised to give a favourable report of him to C.M. Wade on his meeting with him'.²⁵ Not only this, Vigne picked up Nasim Khan, the Vazir with him to Ludhiana, 'where he could pick up intelligence for his master and render assistance to him, by merely remaining in a British cantonment, as the Sikhs would be sure to think him an ambassador, and should not dare to invade a country whose King they imagined to be in treaty with the English'.²⁶

However, Vigne appears to be much concerned with the security of British Indian possessions from the North-West. He opined that 'our North-West frontier was not like any other ; it was the only one on which there was a chance of serious invasion, and we ought long ago to have known more of it. In this particular, Lord Auckland's predecessors are more to blame than he is'.²⁷ He advocated the policy to be pursued by the British Government in regard to the Alpine Punjab and Kashmir. Referring to the activities and intentions of the Jamwal brothers; Dhian Singh, Gulab Singh and Suchet Singh, he asserted that, "these three brothers have long been masters of the Alpine Punjab, with the exception of the Valley of Kashmir; for the seizure of which they have long been preparing".²⁸ Raja Gulab

21. C.L. Datta, 'Zorawar Singh's Conquest of Balistan,' *Proceedings Punjab History Conference*, 1966, p.144.

22. *Travels*, II. p.95.

23. In all his excursions in this region, Vigne was attended by Ahmed Shah, his son Achmet Ali Khan and sometimes by Nasim Khan, the Vazir : *Ibid.*, pp.217,223,227,236,319.

24. *Ibid.*, p.225.

25. *Ibid.*, pp.236-37.

26. *Ibid.*, II, p.202.

27. *Ibid.*, I, p. xviii.

28. *Narrative*, pp.252-53.

Singh having taken Ladakh in 1835 A.D., had since been intent on the occupation of Little Tibet ; 'for the purpose of completing a military circle around Kashmir, and of being able to pour his troops into the valley from every side, immediately upon the death of Ranjit Singh.'²⁹ Vigne thought that, "the best line of action that the East India Company can adopt, 'to follow up that display of its love of legitimacy which it has so lately evinced at Kabul, by reinstating the rightful Rajahs upon their Ghuddis'.³⁰ Thus, he hoped of dividing the power of the chiefs. It would be, according to him, 'the surest way of gaining the affection of the people.'³¹

This conviction of Vigne made him interested in the Himalayan region and he strongly recommended conquest of Kashmir, a necessity for the protection of British empire in Asia, as also of weakening and encircling the kingdom of Lahore.³² Perhaps for this purpose Vigne examined all the passage to the Valley from all the directions. He had learnt from Abul Fazal that there were twenty-six roads to Kashmir, but an active mountaineer could enter the Valley in many places besides regular passages. He could trace out only twenty-three passages from which a man could approach the valley. For instance ; Baramulla Pass, Punchh (Pukhli), Gul Murg, Tos Mydan, Sun-i-Sufyd (Chunz), Pir Panjal, Nadaun Sar, Sadan, Kuri (to Rihursi), Col-Narwana (Kuligam), Banihal, Sir-i-Bul to Kishtwar, Mir Bul by Taru Kasm bridge to Kishtwar, Nā-bug-Nyh (to Ladakh), Pahalgam (Amar Nath), Duras, Koh-i-Hamon, Bunderpur by Gurys and Deotsh to Iskardo, Labab to Gurys, Kurnawar to Muzaffarabad and three passage one to the snow in Kamraj Kurnau, Bangus (Vehamu) and from the village of Huresh under Setasar. He found that six of these : Col. Narwa (Kuligam), Bnihal, Duras, Lobab to Gurys Kunawar to Muzaffarabad and Kuri remained open for whole of the year for foot or horse passenger. However, the way to Kuri was found fit for cannon on wheels into Kashmir.³³

Furthermore ; the defensive capacity of the valley was also examined. He found that 'Kashmir enjoys the singular advantage of being at the same time both a fortress and a magazine ; and although the battle for the valley would be fought on the outside of it ; yet the progress of an invading power might be opposed step by step, as it often has been from the mountain summits around each of its passes.'³⁴

29. *Narrative*, pp.248-52; *Travels*, II, p.196.

30. *Narrative*, p.253.

31. *Ibid.*

32. *Ibid.*, *Travels*, II, p.67.

33. *Ibid.*, I, pp.148-49, 164, 197, 199, 208, 215, 217-18.

34. *Ibid.*, II, p.67.

Vigne was convinced that the occupation of Kashmir could be useful to solve the problem of defence of British India from the North-West. He advocated that, 'when a road is made through the pass from Baramula to Dhurumtawar, an army of any strength, and most perfectly appointed, may be marched in from four to six days, from the healthy atmosphere of Kashmere, to defend the passage of Attock or Torbela ; and with such protection on the North, Bombay as the capital of India on the South and the Indus between them, the British possessions in Hindustan ought to be as safe from foreign invasions from the Westward, as such an extended line of frontier can possibly be made to render them'.³⁵

Occupation of Kashmir was viewed as 'the accomplishment of the one thing needful for the consolidation of British power in Northern India'.³⁶ He regretted for the delay which the East India Company had made for its conquest. However, he asserts that had the government done so, 'it might have long since been in possession of the Punjab, and friendly relations have been established with the court of Kabul, is an assertion based perhaps, upon no unreasonable conjecture'.³⁷

Not only this, Kashmir appeared to him a rich land where Christian missionaries could pursue their work with due success. He asserted that, 'the Mahomedans will not fail to attribute to the finger of God, and consider it as a step towards the fulfillment of their belief, that the whole world will become subject to the power of the Christians. The missionary may have to pursue his labour with some visible hopes of success, when the prevalence of English associations shall have weakened the effects of caste, and the prejudice of Islam ; and the magnificent valley, hitherto the theater of a hundred faiths, will become the *Alma Mater* of our Eastern conquests, and the great and central temple of a religion as pure as the eternal snows around it'.³⁸

In short, Vigne's travels bare British designs in the North-West of India in the 19th Century. They unveiled the countries that Gulab Singh soon welded into a compact Jammu and Kashmir state. Hugel, a German traveller to India who accompanied Vigne from Kashmir to Ludhiana appears to be right when he says that, 'Vigne' an Englishman, who had extended his Asiatic travels as far as Kashmir to certify that he was an Agent of the East India Company. I am surprised that Captain Wade should neither have spoken nor written to me about him'.³⁹ Thus, if William

35. *Ibid.*

36. *Ibid.*, p.66.

37. *Ibid.*, II, pp.66-67.

38. *Ibid.*, pp.68-69.

39. Hugel, *Travels*, p.98.

Moorcroft, Alexander Burnes, Charles Masson (all British travellers) were active in the Punjab, Afghanistan and Central Asia, to enrich the stock of knowledge about people, princes and politics of these lands, Vigne was equally active for similar purpose in the North-Western India.

LEITNER IN LAHORE : LIFE AND WORKS

NAZER SINGH*

G.W. Leitner took over the charge of Principalship of Government College, Lahore, on November 15, 1864. In that capacity, he served this premier educational institution in the Punjab for nearly 21 years, till his forced retirement in June, 1885. His association with Lahore was even longer, he left it in 1887. By his active public life, he had successfully made this city as an educational and literary centre. He was virtually 'the author of the present education policy of the government'.¹ He was a philologist, journalist and excellent organiser. Through his lectures, writings and activities in the Anjuman-i-Punjab – a society organised by him for the diffusion of useful knowledge, he made the Punjabis conscious of the need for modernization. They were involved in educational and social reform activities initiated not only by the British regime but also by the Brahmo Samaj, the Anjuman and 'the Aligarh Movement'.² Gradually, they evolved their own reform bodies such as the Arya Samaj, Singh Sabha and Hindu Sabha. Leitner was praised and condemned alike by the government and the people he sought to serve by his knowledge of languages and civilizations of both the occident and the orient.³ When he left Lahore, he was certainly one of the most controversial figures in the British Punjab.

His early life is still little known save that he was born in the capital of Hungary, a country which his parents were soon forced to leave by the revolution of 1848.⁴ Somehow, he joined the British armed forces and served them as an interpreter in the Crimean War that had begun in 1854. At the end of the war, he was made lecturer in Turkish, Arabic and Modern Greek at the Kings College, London. Before coming to Lahore, he was at the Trieburg University, Germany.

The Crimean War and the uprising of 1857 in India impelled the imperial policy makers in London to know more about the

* Department of Correspondence Courses, Punjabi University, Patiala.

1. For his Lahore career, see *Proceedings Home-Education*, August 1885, Nos. 29-42 (NAI).

2. See Nazer Singh, "Notes on the Anjuman-i-Punjab, Aligarh Movement, Brahmo Samaj, Indian Association, Arya Samaj and Singh Sabha in the Context of Colonial Education in the Punjab." *The Panjab Past and Present*, Vol. XXVI-I, April 1992, pp. 35-69.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 52-58, 69.

4. *Proceedings*, *op. cit.*

linguistic and cultural reality of the orient in general and that of India and Ottoman lands in particular. Seen from West Asia, the Muslim communities and Islam were obviously at the centre of this reality.⁵ Another element in the scene was the emergence of 'national sentiment' represented by the 'Young Bengal' and 'Young Turk' phenomenon in India, and Turkey respectively.

This 'sentiment' was intimately connected with the European and British political, cultural and educational presence in and around these areas, and for this very reason it had a social potential to put Muslim dominated medieval polities of Asia on the new lines. But it could do so only if fostered carefully - as it was actually done by the Company's administration in India by adopting English knowledge as an agent of social change.⁶ In any scheme of state sponsored social transformation in these regions, not only Arabic and Sanskrit but also Turkish and Hindi were to be given important place.

But the London was hardly conscious of this reality till 1854.⁷ Unlike Calcutta, there was hardly any provision in England to officially patronize Arabic and Sanskrit studies aimed at social engineering in the east. The want of this awareness was felt only after the linguistic explanation of 1857 events in India came from the scholars like Max Muller, Charles Trevelyan, Monier Williams and Syed Abdoolaha in London,⁸ and Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, in India.⁹ They all declared that the British neglect of Indian languages as 'a cause of Indian Rebellion'. Question was how to overcome this flaw in the imperial policy? Max Muller suggested that an oriental college for the study of Indian languages should be established in London.

Max Muller's idea was partly put into practice when an 'Oriental Section' was added to the Kings College. Max Muller and Leitner became friends. By 1861, the latter was a professor of Arabic and Mohammanan law.¹⁰ The former had already chosen Sanskrit and the Hindi scriptures to work on. Soon, Leitner was appointed Dean of the 'Oriental Section'.

It was with this background, central to which was the awareness of British concern for the modernization of the people of India and Turkey in general and their Muslim components in

5. See Max Muller, *The Languages of the Seat of War in the East with a Survey of the three Families of Language, Semitic, Arian and Turanian* (Norgate, 1855).

6. See David Koff, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance*, Calcutta, 1969, *passim*; H.V. Hampton, *Biographical Studies in Indian Education*, London, 1946, *passim*.

7. Nirad C. Chaudhuri, *Scholar Extraordinary the life of Max Muller*, Delhi, 1974, pp. 181-84, 207-08.

8. *Ibid.*

9. See G.F.I., Graham, *The life and work of Syed Ahmed Khan* (rpt.), Delhi, 1974, pp. 40-43.

10. *Proceedings, Home Education*, *op. cit.*

particular that Leitner came to Lahore in 1864. Fully knowing the methods to achieve this since his Crimean days, he executed the Turkish Tanzimat in the Punjab by launching the Anjuman-i-Punjab in January 1865.¹¹ The Anjuman patronized the oriental learning by running an Oriental School (later college) in Lahore. This was the first step he took.

As the second one, a free public library with Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian books, and a reading room where the people could assemble to discuss their social and political affairs, was organized. For this purpose the Shiksha Hall was used. As the third step was launched a movement for the creation of an 'Oriental University' in the Punjab. For this public lectures and meetings were organized in Lahore and 'the natural leaders' – chiefs, zamindars, merchants and priests were successfully approached to subscribe money to the university project.¹²

The Punjab administration recognised the Anjuman during 1866, and projected it as a body spearheading 'the oriental movement' with a great educational and political potential.¹³ It was seen as capable of bringing into existence¹⁴ (i) 'a National University in the Punjab', (ii) revival of classical languages - 'Arabic for the Muhammadans, and Sanskrit for the Hindus (iii) European Scientific and education works in Urdu, and (iv) social reform movements of European trained educated Hindus and Muslims.

The Calcutta authorities, however, accepted the Punjab proposal for the University and the principles underlying it only half heartedly.¹⁵ They agreed that education should be western though given to the people through their own languages. It was also not averse to people's participation in educational activities but it rejected that they could be given a decisive voice in running their educational affairs. Were the Punjab chiefs or natural leaders intelligent enough to be comparative in their approach towards the educational question? They raised this question and answered it in the negative. Some of them noted that the Punjab administration was excessively indulgent in politics of education as its scheme amounted to a political revolution in Indian education.¹⁶ Mainly for this reason, the Government of India refused to grant the University to Punjab in 1868.

11. For the Turkish Tanzimat and its relationship with the Punjab education movement, see, Nazer Singh, "Some Features of the Socio-Religious Movements in Punjab" in *M.D.U. Research Journal*, Vol. 2, No. 2, Oct. 1987, pp. 55, 60-61.

12. See, *Report on the Popular Education in the Punjab: Its Dependencies for the year 1866-67* (hereafter to be called P.E.R.).

13. See 'Extracts from the parliamentary Report 1874, C. 1072 II, Pt III', reproduced in G.W. Leitner, *History of Indigenous Education in the Punjab Since Annexation and in 1882* (rpt.) Patiala 1971, Introduction pp.V-Vi.

14. *Ibid.*

15. For details see, proceedings, Home Education, June 12, 1869, Nos. 32-37 (NAI).

16. Proceedings, *ibid.*

The refusal meant not only the non-recognition* of the Anjuman by Calcutta but also disapproval of its President, Leitner's ideas and actions. It was understandable for these actions were no longer confined to the sphere of education. In fact, Leitner never intended them to be so. Through the Anjuman he was asking for the railway reforms.¹⁷ With the help of L. Griffin, he had started a news organ, *The Indian Public Opinion*.¹⁸ Moreover, he was preparing the Punjab landlords to pick up a battle with Government of India over the issue of tenant rights.¹⁹ The Anjuman had been discussing the ways to conduct this struggle since 1867 and it was guided in it by the lobby of the Punjab officials headed by the Lieutenant Governor, McLeod himself.²⁰

On the educational front too Leitner adopted a confrontationist posture. During 1865, he asked the leading Punjabis to organize the Anjuman in order to revive themselves culturally and civilizationaly. For knowledge, they should not look passively to a regime that 'despised' their civilization, he told them.²¹ In personal interviews with them, he counselled them to be self-reliant in educational matters by opening educational and literary institutes. After Wood's Despatch, the Government policy provided for public enterprise in education and they could avail themselves of the grant-in-aid system for it, he informed them. Why should the missionaries be left alone in the field to take advantage of the grant-in-aid system?, he asked them to ponder over this question. By participating in the educational enterprise they could make it 'national', Leitner inspired them.²² This talk of 'self reliance' and 'national education' could be, and was, hardly acceptable to the Calcutta establishment for whom education was still an imperial concern.

Leitner had also organized a 'literary and debating society' for the students in his college. He fondly called it 'Young Punjab'.²³ Through his annual reports on Government College, Lahore during 1865-66²⁴ and 1867-68,²⁵ he thoroughly disapproved the Calcutta system of education. He wrote that the system was without attraction for, and hold upon, the people.²⁶ The few students of the college were for the stipend they enjoyed.²⁷ Moreover, the Bengal system was discriminatory in

17. J.P. Perrile, 'Anjuman-i-Punjab as a Common Interest Association' in *The Panjab Past and Present*, Vol. XXVI, Oct. 1982, pp.16-17,

18. *Ibid.*

19. *Ibid.*

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 354-60.

21. See 'Extracts from Parliamentary Report', *op.cit.*

22. See Proceedings, Home-Education, May 22, 1869, Nos. 35-38 (NAI).

23. See, *The P.E.R.* 1864-65, p. 17.

24. See *The P.E.R.* 1866-67.

25. See Leitner's Report dt. 23rd May, 1868, in *The PER*, 1868-69.

26. *Ibid.*

27. *Ibid.*

matters of scholarship against the 'Punjab boys' for the latter could hardly compete with the educationally advanced Bengal students. Above all, the government was neither funding nor staffing the college properly.²⁸

Leitner's actions including these reports and the activities of the Anjuman were not taken favourably by the Education Department. The Punjab D.P.I., Fuller, attributed to him the Lahore people's refusal to study English during 1867.²⁹ While in fact, they had done it because of the conversion of two students to Christianity by the American Mission. The Lieutenant-Governor expressed his unhappiness with the functioning of Lahore college and advised him (Leitner) not to let his 'private views on education' to interfere with the proper discharge of his public duties under the existing system.³⁰ Even this did not deter him from denouncing the Calcutta system which he saw as nothing more than a breeding ground for *babuism*. Characteristic in this regard was his May 23, 1868 report on the Government College, Lahore.³¹ The Government took a more serious view of his actions this time. He was not only warned of a summary dismissal but also asked to relinquish the editorship of *Indian Public Opinion*.³²

During the major part of the 1866-67 session, Leitner remained in Kashmir to which he was deputed by the Punjab Government. He was sent on philological mission of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. While in Kashmir, he studied the dialects of Gillgit regions, and also translated the biography of *Sheikh Shibli*, an eminent saint of the province.³³ His work on the life and languages of Gillgit was published in 1869 under the title, *Results of a Tour in 'Dardistan', Kashmir, Little Tibet, Ladak etc.*³⁴ It was popularly called 'Dardistan'.

'Dardistan' had two significant observations made by him. First, Leitner suggested that Sanskrit probably originated from the Gillgit dialects. Secondly, Hinduism was much a proselytizing religion as was Islam.³⁵ Its Brahmin priesthood was no less active in converting the tribals and Budhists of Kashmir to Brahminism. It is interesting to note that Leitner would extend this view of Hinduism threatening the dissenting creeds in India to Sikhism in the early 1880's.³⁶

28. *Ibid.*

29. See *The P.E.R.*, 1867-68.

30. See Proceedings, Home Education, May 22, 1869, *op. cit.*

31. See *The P.E.R.* 1868-69.

32. Proceedings, May 22, 1869, *op. cit.*

33. See, *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol.I, 1872 (rpt.) Delhi 1984, p. 269.

34. The work was published at the Indian Public Opinion Press, Lahore in 1869.

35. See Leitner, *History of Indigenous Education*, *op. cit.*, pp. 36, 58.

36. *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29, 35-36, 58.

In the meantime, the Government of India had sanctioned the establishment of 'University College Lahore', in May 1869.³⁷ The college had a Senate granting diplomas and certificates, and a council of education for the province. It was housed in the Government College Lahore. However, only a few weeks before this declaration, the education department had punished Leitner for his criticism of Government's educational, railway and agrarian policies. Unhappy, he went on a leave from July 1869 to February 1870. During this time he visited England too.

While he was still out of Lahore, the newly constituted Senate held its first meeting in January 1870 where Leitner was appointed its Registrar.

In the mean time was reorganized the Oriental School, Lahore. Originally it was a *pathsala* providing learning in Sanskrit. After the formation of Anjuman-i-Punjab, Arabic and Persian were also added to it. In 1868, it was placed under a Superintendent who was always to be a Professor of Sanskrit. When E. Trumpp came to Lahore in connection with his translation of Sikh scriptures in 1870, he was appointed its Superintendent.³⁸

All this did not dampen Leitner's spirit of enquiry and he conducted archaeological excavations at Takhat-i-Bahi, near Peshawar. It yielded him 172 pieces of statues, arms, coins and other objects 'referring to the various countries between Kabul and Lhasa.'³⁹

Again in 1870, Leitner discovered an Ariano-Pali inscription of Gondopharnes from a stone at Shahbazgarhi. He sent it to Professor Dowson in England.⁴⁰

When in 1871, the Government of India raised 'the Mohammadan question' and asked the provinces to take measures for helping the Muslims in overcoming their religious-cultural prejudices against the English system of education, the Senate of University College adopted a resolution, that provided for the establishment of denominational institutions of education not only for the Muslims but for all the communities.⁴¹ It refused to accept the notion that the Punjabi Muslims were especially indifferent to western education. But it reiterated that the people as a whole were cold in their response to a purely secular education.⁴² This flaw could be removed by the denominational

37. See, E.C. Baily's Letter to Government of Punjab, dt. 22 May, 1869, in Proceedings, Home-Education, *op. cit.*

38. See, Nazer Singh, *Notes, op. cit.*

39. See, *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 2, 1873 and Vol. 4, 1873 (*rpt.*), Delhi, 1984, pp. 242, and 158-60.

40. See 'Trubner's Records, June 1873' quoted in *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 2, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

41. See, *The P.E.R.* 1871-72, pp. 1-4.

42. *Ibid.*

institutions where the people could have 'secular education... in addition to any religious teaching'. Interestingly, Leitner saw a great politico-cultural potential in this resolution, and referred it in his report for the year 1871-72.⁴³

According to him, the denominational institutions would help in winning the support of priestly classes for the educational programme of the government. The 'Hindu, Mohammadan, English, Anglo-vernacular, and vernacular schools' would promote 'toleration' and 'create genuine attachment' to it.⁴⁴ Also, they would learn to study their own classics 'more critically'. In fact the western sciences would help in realizing them that learning meant something more than 'disloyalty'.⁴⁵ The new or reformed priesthood would work for the government that 'will have at its disposal a powerful agency.'

'The Mohammadan Question' led Leitner to pen some important works on education in general and Islamic culture in particular. The works were⁴⁶ :

1. *An Essay on the Theory and Practice of Education with Special Reference to Education in India.*
2. *Races of Turkey with Special Reference to Mohammadan Education.*
3. *Sin in ul-Islam.*
4. *History of Indigenous Education, in the Punjab Since Annexation and in 1882.*

A common message that ran through these works was that education in India could not be totally secular.⁴⁷ Nor could it be entirely state or private.⁴⁸ It would be denominational with the reformed priesthood in the shape of teachers-cum-reformers holding a strategic place in it. The education should aim at helping 'the natural leaders' in becoming an agency for social transformation. Unlike C. Pearson,⁴⁹ Leitner had a negative bias towards the newly emerging middle classes through English education.

In 1873, Leitner represented Punjab on the Vienna Universal Exhibition. He carried with him his *Takht-i-Bahi* collection that he introduced to the scholars under the name *Greeco-Budhistic Sculpture*. This nomenclature was approved by the scholars and he was thanked for giving this term to the Indian antiquity.⁵⁰ The exhibition conferred upon him the Grand Diploma of Honour for the promotion of knowledge.

43. *Ibid.*

44. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

45. *Ibid.*

46. See Proceedings, *Home-Education*, August 1885, Nos. 29-42 (N.A.I.)

47. See Leitner, *History*, pp. 60-62.

48. *The P.E.R.* 1868-69, *op.cit.*

49. *Ibid.*

50. See Proceedings, *Home Education*, August 1885, *op. cit.*

The year 1876 again saw Leitner on a war path against the political establishment. In March, he made a memorial of his grievances to the government. The grievances were⁵¹ ;

- (1) The advertisement for the post of Principal in 1864 against which he had applied was misleading because it wrongly gave the impression that there was an Education Service in India providing promotion avenues throughout the country.
- (2) He was not promoted even when he was promotable. This inflicted a loss of rupees 40,180 upon him.
- (3) The government caused a more pecuniary loss to him by compelling him to resign from the editorship of *Indian Public Opinion*, and by denying to him the editorship of *The Lahore Chronicle*.

By way of relief Leitner asked for the following :

- i) He should be promoted and placed on a post lower only to that of Director.
- ii) Immediate payment of rupees 40,180 to him.
- iii) He should be made D.P.I. at the earliest.
- iv) Failing in meeting these demands, the government should pension him off.

Thinking that the government might send him on pension, Leitner started raising subscriptions for opening an 'Oriental Institute' of Indian Studies in London and asked the government patronage for it.⁵²

However, the Punjab set-up rejected his memorial of grievances as well as his request for patronage to the London institute. Following the Punjab administration, the non-official individuals gave a cold response. With the exception of Attar Singh Bhadour who promised to donate rupees 4000, no aristocrat subscribed to the scheme.⁵³

Towards the end of 1876, Leitner was made an Honorary Superintendent of the Oriental College.⁵⁴ The government wanted to reorganize it ever since 1872 when it unsuccessfully tried to keep Trumpp in its service by appointing him a teacher of Pushto, Punjabi and some other languages of the regions across the Indus.⁵⁵ However, it was the establishment of M.A.O. College at Aligarh, that made this reorganization imperative. Leitner's appointment indicated that the college was no longer to be primarily concerned with Sanskrit or classical studies.

Leitner made two changes in the Oriental College. First, its admission was restricted to the sons of the hereditary priests, the

51. See Despatch to S.O.S. in Proceedings, *Home Education*, 18th May, 1876, No. 3 (N.A.I.).

52. See *Proceedings, Home-Education*, August 1885, *op.cit.*

53. *Ibid.*

54. See, *The P.E.R.* 1876-77.

55. See. L.H. Griffin's Letter dt. 11 January 1872, Proceedings For. Gen; A, April 1872, Nos. 110-14.

pandits and *maulvis*.⁵⁶ Secondly, the study of Gurmukhi including instructions in the Sikh scripture was introduced in 1877. Interestingly, the Punjabi class was officially called 'the *bhai* class', and the introduction of *Sri Guru Granth Sahib* was not seen consistent with the government policy. How the Sikh scripture could be taught at a place where the study of Bible was not permitted?, asked the Punjab D.P.I.⁵⁷ He also spoke of the unpopularity of the measures with the people in general.

But the remarks of D.P.I. were not endorsed by the Lieutenant Governor. The latter's Secretary, L. Griffin, noted that the introduction of Punjabi had made the college popular with the Sikhs, and this alone was a sufficient justification for it.⁵⁸ The D.P.I. was asked not be indifferent to the college. He saw the point and reported that 'the progress of 'the *bhai* class' was a matter of 'gratification' to him, and it was satisfying to 'certain sections' of the community.⁵⁹

It is important to remember that E. Trumpp was the first to suggest that Punjabi should be cultivated as 'a national language' of the Punjab⁶⁰ in order to make the Sikhs aware of their true religious heritage. This suggestion was adopted by the Singh Sabha that interpreted Sikh heritage as something different from both Kukaism and Hinduism. The decision to patronize Gurmukhi in 1877 was not educational alone, it had a political dimension too.⁶¹

The political dimension was indicated further when the Punjab officials including Leitner refused to patronize the works of Swami Dayanand in 1877 itself.⁶² The Swami was asking for it since 1875 and he had reiterated his demand on his arrival in Lahore in April 1877.⁶³ As a matter of fact, Leitner had come into clash with the Arya Samaj even before the birth of its Lahore branch because some of the leading men who organized this branch were already in his college and opponents also. The most significant of them was Mul Raj, M.A.

The Punjab administration had created in Delhi and Lahore a strong opposition to itself as well as for Leitner by declaring on the eve of Lytton's Delhi Darbar in January 1877 that the Lahore University College would be elevated to University while Delhi College stood closed.⁶⁴ It explained its closure decision saying that

56. See, Nazer Singh, *Notes*, op.cit., p. 39.

57. *The P.E.R.* 1878-79, p. 2; also 1877-78, P.29.

58. *Ibid.*

59. *The P.E.R.* 1878-79, P.14.

60. Leitner, *History*, op. cit., p.p. 31, 33-36, 47-48.

61. The political events like the rise of Kuka Movement in Punjab and the Second Afghan War had made Pushto and Punjabi militarily significant for the British regime.

62. See Nazer Singh, *Notes*, op. cit., pp. 50-51.

63. *Ibid.*

64. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

by transferring the staff of Delhi College to Lahore, it wanted to strengthen the Lahore College. This explanation did not find favour with some Delhi citizens who backed by the members of Delhi literary society organized an agitation against it.⁶⁵ Mul Raj was one of them. Soon Syed Ahmed Khan and Surendra Nath Banerjee extended their support to the agitation.⁶⁶ In Lahore Pandit Manphool, a leading member of the Anjuman-i-Punjab, helped the Delhi people. It was he who had invited Swami Dayanand to extend his Delhi visit to Lahore. Others from Lahore who showed this early interest in Dayanand's mission were Kanhya Lal Alkhdhare and Novin Chander Roy.⁶⁷

Novin Chander Roy was a leading Brahmo employed at the University College as well as Oriental College. He was also associated with Pandit Radhakishan in the tasks of organizing Sanskrit studies by the Anjuman-i-Punjab since 1868.⁶⁸ In 1877, he established in Lahore a branch of the Indian Association of Calcutta. The Association was the creation of Surendranath Banerjee who did not approve of the Punjab decision to close down the Delhi College. Hence, the Lahore Indian Association, like the Lahore Arya Samaj, began its career as an opposition to Leitner.⁶⁹

The struggle to influence the educational institutions was, however, not confined to Brahmo and Arya Samajis. The missionaries were doing it since long.⁷⁰ Their latest attempt was the scheme for a Cambridge Mission College (St. Stephens College) to be established in Delhi. The Bishop of Lahore, T.V. French, was asking the men in London in 1877 to help the Mission in order to save education in India from falling into the hands of Dayanand's followers.⁷¹ A recent commentator suggests that the Punjab decision to close down the Delhi College was undertaken in order to facilitate the birth of the Mission College.⁷²

Be as it may, the fact remains that the education movement in Punjab was marked by partisanism giving birth to 'parties' in it. Aware of the existence of these 'parties' Leitner suggested in 1878 that the government should held an 'Educational Congress' to sort out the issues.⁷³ This proposal was rejected by the

65. *Ibid.*, pp. 49-51.

66. *Ibid.*

67. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

68. *The P.E.R.* 1868-69.

69. Nazer Singh, *Notes, op. cit.*, p. 51.

70. See John C. Webster, *The Christian Community and Change in Nineteenth Century North India*, Macmillan, 1976. *Passim*

71. Naranjani Gupta, *Delhi Between Two Empires, 1803-1931*, (Oxford, Delhi, 1973), p.8.

72. *Ibid.*

73. For details, see *The P.E.R.* 1878-79; also *History, passim*.

education department. Leitner charged the Govt. of suppressing the Congress of the school masters with a view to perpetuate differences among the various 'parties' by not allowing them to sit around a table to negotiate with one another.⁷⁴

In April 1879, Lord Lytton told the people of Lahore that soon there would be the Panjab University Bill in the imperial legislature, and that the new University would be different from other Indian Universities, that it would give due place to Indian languages and religions in its departments.⁷⁵ This declaration strengthened the hands of 'all the supporters of the movement in favour of a national education...'.⁷⁶

In a bid to minimise the differences among the various 'parties' in Punjab, Leitner was temporarily made D.P.I. in July 1879. He was to hold this post till September 1879. However, this did not help much.⁷⁷

The argument of 'national education' did not cut ice with the Brahmos, the Aryas and some *Anjumanees* who opposed the Viceroy's declaration. The reasons for them to do so were many and different. The Brahmos – many of whom were Bengalis – opposed it on the ground that the new University would discourage the study of English and would split the University of Calcutta that would sever the cultural emotional link between Punjab and Bengal.⁷⁸ As it were they dominated the Lahore Indian Association so they also maintained that an alien government had no right to create literature for the local people.⁷⁹ Nor could they revive the Indian languages by mere translation of the European works in them. The Aryas opposed it mainly because of Leitner's opposition to their movement, though they also advanced the arguments given by the Brahmos⁸⁰. Interestingly, the Aryas were hardly united in their opposition to 'Leitnerism'.

Leitner tried to meet these arguments through the *Akhbar-i-Anjuman* Punjab. He denied that Anjuman-i-Punjab was opposed to the study of English language.⁸¹ He only demanded that the University must have a faculty of Theology and should cultivate Punjabi language. This brought Sir Syed Ahmed on the scene. He was already finding it difficult to defend Urdu against Nagari. He felt that Leitner was leading the Punjabi Muslims to leave Urdu for Gurmukhi. Through his writings in the *Aligarh Institute*

74. *Ibid.*

75. Nazer Singh, *Notes, op. cit.*, p. 40.

76. *Proceedings Home-Education, A*, August 1879, Nos. 21-27 (NAI).

77. *The P.E.R. 1879-80*.

78. See Nazer Singh, *Notes*, pp. 51, 54-56.

79. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

80. *Ibid.*, p. 56.

81. *Ibid.*, pp. 53-55.

Gazette he asked the Punjabis in general and the Muslims in particular, to keep themselves aloof from Leitner's movement.⁸²

However, the newly organized Lahore Singh Sabha stood by Leitner in his struggle against the Brahmos, Aryas, a faction of the Indian Association, and a group of the *Anjumanees*.⁸³

The opposition to the Punjab educational policy virtually degenerated into an opposition to Leitner during 1880-81. The Public meetings were held in Lahore, Amritsar, Gujranwala and Rawalpindi to criticize him, and to demand more English education.⁸⁴ The Brahmo and Arya *babus* as well as the teachers in the Mission schools helped in it by drawing memorials and petitions. The students were asked, especially in Lahore, to teach him a 'lesson'. Leitner's own college turned out to be a centre of Brahmo-Arya activities.⁸⁵

The Punjab Brahmos and Aryas sought help from Bengal. It came, first, in the shape of *The Tribune* which was launched in February 1881 to save education-English/higher- in Punjab.⁸⁶ Secondly, the Calcutta branch of Indian Association approached the London authorities to intervene in the matter. In vain they were reminded of Lord Macaulay and his educational ideas.⁸⁷

The Tribune, not only denounced the politico-educational ideas of Leitner, by labelling them as 'spurious orientalism' but also condemned the Singh Sabha by describing it as 'a creature of Dr Leitner'.⁸⁸ The paper repeatedly saw the demand for the cultivation of Punjabi by the University as a 'sectarian' one.⁸⁹

In the meantime, Leitner once again tried to get his old grievances redressed by the government through a memorial in 1880.⁹⁰ But the memorial was dismissed at a time when he was in the thick of struggle against the whole Lahore intelligentsia save the few *Anjumanees* and the Singh Sabha reformers.

Leitner choose to hit back. The Hunter Commission on primary education gave him the opportunity. He collected a massive evidence on the destruction of indigenous system of education in the land of five rivers. He was helped in this task by his men at the Oriental College, by the Anjuman-i-Punjab and the police Department.⁹¹ The latter provided him with the *thana* wise accounts of indigenous educational institutions as well as the teachers and scholars of Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian and Gurmukhi.

82. *Ibid.*, pp. 44-46.

83. See *The Tribune*, Lahore, August 27 and October 23, 1881.

84. See Nazer Singh, Notes, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-58.

85. *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.

86. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

87. *Ibid.*, pp. 54-56.

88. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-68.

89. *Ibid.*

90. *Ibid.*

91. *Proceedings, Home Education 1885, op. cit.*

Leitner interpreted this data in the light of his own experience of the operations of education department. His theories of education in general too guided him. Consequently his evidence was rich empirically and theoretically. He himself presented it before the Commission, and later on published it under the title *History of Indigenous Education in the Punjab Since Annexation and in 1882*.

Two salients of Leitner's History were, (i) a strong advocacy of Gurmukhi education aimed at strengthening the Sikhs against the middle class Hindus, actively working for the creation of a 'nation' based upon Hindi Language,⁹² and (ii) strong condemnation of the operations of the Punjab education department on the various grounds. Some of these grounds were the following:⁹³

- i) The department deliberately destroyed the Persian and Gurmukhi education in particular and Sanskrit and Arabic systems of education in general.⁹⁴
- ii) It undermined the religious and national foundations of education and projected Indian languages and literature as useless and even barbrous—as in the case of Gurmukhi.⁹⁵
- iii) It ignored 'the natural leaders—zamindars, merchants and priests and sought to create new leaders out of the trading castes such as Khattris, Kayasths and Suds.⁹⁶
- iv) The trading castes were used to denationalize and secularize knowledge. They demanded more and more English education in order to dislodge the Brahmins, the Muslims and the Sikhs from social pre-eminence.⁹⁷
- v) Westernization based upon secularism had created fanaticism, especially among the Muslims who were deliberately deprived of teachers' job by the education department by closing Persian and ignoring Arabic schools in the 1850's.⁹⁸
- vi) The department betrayed 'the oriental movement' by adopting a dual-policy towards the Anjuman-i-Punjab. The organizers of it wanted to make education a public enterprise run by the people's representatives but they actually got 'a highly autocratic' system that couldn't tolerate even a 'teachers Congress' in 1878.⁹⁹ It divided the Anjuman, and created 'parties in education' that virtually killed it as a body for common enterprise.

92. *Ibid.*, pp. 31, 33-36, 47-48.

93. See "Remarks by W.R.M. Holroyd on the Evidence of Dr Leitner Before the Education Commission." in *Proceedings, Home Education, B*, September 1883, Nos. 49-53 (N.A.I.)

94. *Ibid.*; also *History*, pp. 31, 36.

95. *Ibid.*, pp. 28-36.

96. *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 21-22.

97. *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 52, 58-59.

98. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

99. See 'Remarks by W.R.M. Holroyd', *op. cit.*

- vii) The British did not only destroy the indigenous system of education but also spent very little on English or new system. The people were kept illiterate. There were more illiterates in Punjab of 1882 than that of 1849.¹⁰⁰

While the education department was taking cognizance of these grave charges against itself, Leitner unsuccessfully revived his scheme of 'oriental institute' in London. Finding no change in the government's attitude to his scheme, he left for England in 1883. In London, he tried to gather support for it. In this connection he met Max Muller and E. Trumpp also.¹⁰¹ He returned to Lahore in 1884 without getting anything concrete from his London friends.

Back in Lahore, Leitner became greater critic of the Panjab University for its policy of keeping Theology and Punjabi away from its faculties. He pleaded the cause of Punjabi from the Singh Sabha platform.¹⁰²

In June 1885, the Anjuman-i-Punjab demanded the reorganization of the Senate of Panjab University.¹⁰³ Representation on it was sought for the 'Professors of the Oriental College', 'learned Maulvis' and 'Pandits'.¹⁰⁴ Leitner had still not recognised the University as established in 1882.

The Punjab administration took this measure as something aimed at obstructing the progress of the University and decided to get rid of Leitner. He was induced to apply for pension on medical grounds.¹⁰⁵ The moment he did so, he was sent on deputation with the Government of India in Foreign Department.¹⁰⁶ The later despatched him on a philological mission to Kashmir. He remained in Kashmir from August 1885 to September 1886.¹⁰⁷

In his absence from Lahore, the government asked the Anjuman to vacate its office in the rooms of University.¹⁰⁸ In fact, the University snapped its ties with the Anjuman by appropriating to itself the money raised through subscriptions by Leitner's movement.¹⁰⁹ In order to financially cripple the Anjuman more, the University stopped sending its print material for publication to the Anjuman Press.¹¹⁰

100. See *History*, Introduction, *op. cit.*

101. *Proceedings, Home-Education*, 1885, *op. cit.*

102. See Nazer Singh, *Notes*, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-69.

103. *Proceedings, Home-Education*, August 1885, *op. cit.*

104. *Ibid.*

105. *Ibid.*

106. *Proceedings, Foreign-Frontier*, A, April 1887, Nos. 16-46, (N.A.I.).

107. *Ibid.*

108. *Proceedings, For. Intel.*, B., Sept. 1886, Nos. 75-79 (N.A.I.)

109. *Ibid.*

110. *Ibid.*

In the meantime, the London authorities turned down the positive Punjab recommendation on Leitner's pension application.¹¹¹ It put the Lahore in an embarrassing situation because it was the Punjab administration that had originally induced him to apply for pension. In order to wriggle out itself from it, the administration implicated him in a false case made by the Police Department.¹¹² Leitner was charged of instigating the people of Lahore against the British power, and was dismissed.

111. *Ibid.*

112. *Ibid.*

FEMALE EDUCATION IN THE PUNJAB : A SURVEY (1882-1919)

AMRIT WALIA*

In national life, education, in its broadest sense, begins at home and that if a country wants healthy, upright and considerate citizens the quickest, surest and the easiest way is to educate that most potent of all influences— the mother in the home. The hand, head and heart of Indian girls and women should be evenly and harmoniously cultivated, so that they may discharge with grace and efficiency the duties of whatever stations of life they belong to as wives or mothers or responsible members of society. Their education system should be so developed that they may have the power to see clearly, the power to imagine vividly and the power to think independently. Thus the role of women is essentially that of a nation builder. Rightly did Napoleon say, "Give me good mothers and I will give you a good nation."

In India, this fact was not given much weightage. People were indifferent towards women's education. "Women's role has often been ignored, underpaid and even unrecognised as means of development and they also receive lesser benefits of the development process in the form of little food to eat, lesser education, inadequate medical care and opportunities in life."¹ So much so that travellers who visited India were amazed to see the indifferent attitude of parents towards the education of their daughters. Intense eagerness to educate their boys and almost complete indifference towards the education of their girls, this had been phenomena of Indian society. "Female education is a need for all but a desire for none," uttered a district inspector of schools.

Before the advent of the British rule, education among Punjabi women of the higher castes of Hindus, the better Muslims and all orders of Sikhs, was purely religious. The system of education was confined to their acquiring the principal tenets of their respective religions. East India Company did not pay much attention to women's education, "perhaps lady clerks and officers were not required for administrative purpose."² In March

* Head, Post-Graduate Department of History, Khalsa College for Women, Ludhiana.

1. Mohammed Muzammil, 'Social Sector Priorities Improving the Economic and Educational Status of Women,' in *Varta, Research Journal of Bhartiya Arthik Sodh Sansthan*, Vol. xvii and xviii, April and October 1996 and 1997, Nos. I & II.
2. S.N. Mukerjee, *History of Education in India*, Baroda, 1955, p.23.

1835, an impetus was given to the education, "but it is surprising to note that not a single pie out of the educational grant of 1835 was spent on girls' education."³ It was in Lord Dalhousie's time that a half-hearted start was made and it was then stated that "great prudence and caution would be needed in the matter of girls' education." The result was that education of the women lagged far behind that of men. It was only in 1854 that the government partially recognised women's education as a branch of the state system of education.⁴ But it was yet to get a real start. The first Director of Public Instruction, Punjab, Mr. Arnold wrote, "When the Department was first organised, it was proposed to let the question of female education stand over till the ordinary establishments were all set on foot."⁵

Hence, it had a long rugged path to travel. It was not so much the action or inaction of the ruling power, which stood in the way of girl's education, but iron traditions and age old customs of the country, obstructed the education of women. *purdah* system and early marriage of the girls were a few of the outstanding obstacles. M. Fuller observed, "The girl child from the moment of her birth to her death undergoes a continuous life long suffering as a child wife, as a child mother and very often as a child widow."⁶ "In fact the apathy of the parents towards female education amounting to antipathy in some backward and orthodox areas, their extreme reluctance to pay for the education of their girls, the want of efficient mistresses, lack of public munificence and patronage and early marriage of the girls were the chief obstacles in the way of spread of this education."⁷

The female child did not get a fair treatment with her brothers. She gave a helping hand at home in looking after the young children and assisting her mother at an early age. That was the reason that her education was not favourably considered by the parents. Moreover, it was feared that the spread of education among women may lead to discontentment with the present restricted conditions of life and undue independence of thought and extravagance in living may take the place of present domestic virtues. "There is a fear lest girls when they are educated may become unfit for home life, that they may become

3. *Ibid.*

4. The importance of the female education in India cannot be over rated and we have observed with pleasure the evidence of an increased desire on the part of many of the natives of India to give a good education to their daughters. We have already observed that schools for females are included among those to which grant-in-aid may be given and we can not refrain from expressing our cordial sympathy with the efforts which are being made in this direction. *The Despatch of 1854*, para 83, p.35.

5. Sanaullah Khan, *A History of Education in the Punjab*. Vol. I, Lahore, 1932, p.120.

6. F. Muller, *The Wrongs of Indian Womenhood*, New York, 1900, p.33.

7. Shiv Kumar Gupta, *Arya Samaj and the Raj*, New Delhi, 1991, p.40.

averse to tasks which constitute the glory and pride of the orthodox Indian women."⁸

In the year 1882, Education Commission found that "the female education is still in an extremely backward condition and that it needs to be fostered in every legitimate way." It, therefore, recommended that "female education be treated as a legitimate charge alike on local, municipal and provincial funds and receive special encouragement."⁹ It further laid stress on the differentiation of curricula for the girls and held that "the standard of instruction for primary schools for girls be simpler than that for boys schools, and be drawn up with special reference to the requirements of home life, and to the occupations open to women."¹⁰ It was also proposed that the efforts for primary and secondary instruction should be judiciously made and wherever possible the charge of the girls should be handed over to the real and effective control of the local bodies. The Commission fully realised the difficulty of obtaining suitable teachers and observed, "While we would not altogether exclude male teachers from girls schools but we believe that female teachers should be gradually substituted for them."¹¹ It also emphasized the regular inspection of the schools and recommended, "That female inspecting agency be regarded as essential to the full development of female education, and be more largely employed than hitherto."¹² Lastly, the Commission considered it desirable to welcome any non-official co-operation in order to encourage the female education.

On the whole it may be said that the Indian Education Commission did nothing more than recommending slight alternations in lines of policy which had already been developed. Though an improvement over the existing position, it could not be calculated to touch the fringe of the problem. The Commission did not recommend compulsion for girls education. No specific recommendation was made on all too important a subject of finance and did not secure large resources to women's education. The recommendation that the education of the women should be expanded on a voluntarily basis could not have worked satisfactorily, as admitted by the Commission itself that the public of this period was not much in favour of the education of women. For these and other reasons the education of women could not expand rapidly between 1882-1902.

The main interest of the history of education of women in the 19th century lies therefore, in the controversies that were waged around the problem, in the gradual conversion of public

8. L.F. Rushbrook Williams, *India in 1919*, Calcutta, 1920, p.127.

9. *Report of the Indian Education Commission*, 1883, p.597.

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Ibid.*, p.546.

12. *Ibid.*, p.600.

opinion in support of the education of women both primary and higher and in the awakening of the public conscience to the social injustice done to women. Yet, it is undeniable that initial inertia had been overcome, the foundations of the modern edifice had been laid and a stage was set for the development of the education of women in all directions. But it was not possible to bring effective results in the field without the co-operation and assistance of the people of the province. The problem of women education was of a different magnitude. It was not from where to provide them education, but how to bring them near the door of education? In the nineteenth century the 'women question' loomed large. This was not a question of 'what do women want?' but rather 'how can they be modernized?'¹³

The wave of reformist thought in nineteenth century enunciated by Ram Mohan Roy, followed by Ishwar Chandra Vidya Sagar, Dayanand Saraswati, Keshab Chander Sen, Baba Khem Singh Bedi, Bhai Takhat Singh and many others, led to very significant legislative, social and economic changes. The various socio-religious organisations like the Arya Samaj, the Dev Samaj, the Singh Sabhas and the Chief Khalsa Diwan and Muslim Anjumans made strenuous efforts in this direction."¹⁴ They went a long way in removing the prejudices and doubts of the people which an alien government could not do, no matter how sincere its efforts might have been. The leaders of these sects were univocal in their attack on the social taboos which had degenerated the position of women. They felt that no moral, social and intellectual progress can be attained if women are steeped in ignorance. They advocated education for women, raising their marriagable age and re-marriage of widows. They also worked for the amelioration of their social status. The Christian missionaries indeed were the pioneers in the field of female education in the province. Besides imparting education, they made women conversant with their rights and their place in the society. "They began with the orphanages and schools for the daughters of converts, but as female education became more accepted the Presbyterians provided schooling for Hindu and Muslim girls as well."¹⁵

Khan Bahadur Maqbul Shah was out to educate the public opinion in favour of their daughters and sisters. He pleaded:

*The subject is of paramount importance at this time
when we have made rapid strides in men's education
but in women's education we are lagging far behind.*

13. Geraldine Forbes, 'Women in Modern India', *The New Cambridge History of India*, New Delhi, 1996, p.12.

14. B.S. Saini, *The Social and Economic History of the Punjab*, Delhi, 1975, p.166.

15. C.B. Webster, *The Christian Community and Change in the Nineteenth Century North India*, Meerut, 1976, p.151.

It does not behove that more than half the population - the better half I would say - remain sunk in ignorance and superstition while the other bulk marches forward with rapid strides. Husband and wife are bound together for life, an educated husband and an illiterate wife are like a horse and a buffalo yoked together. As a matter of fact, it is women who govern our households, it is women who control all expenditure, it is women who arrange all social, religious ceremonies, whose name is legion, so the education of girls is indispensable.¹⁶

The vernacular news papers like *Khalsa Advocate*, *Khalsa Samachar*, *The Panjabee*, *The Tribune* and many more, also went a long way in breaking the inhibitions of the people about the education of their women folk. *Punjabi Bhain* emphasising the need for the education of women held that "literate women are the yardstick to measure the progress of a nation."¹⁷ Similarly *The Tribune* observed, "Women must have equal rights if India is to claim honoured place in the world."¹⁸

There were some sociological factors also which made it pertinent for the women to be educated. It was observed that in many parts of the country, the joint family system was breaking up. The girls and young women were becoming the heads of the family and the duty of bringing up the children devolved upon them. The health and physical efficiency of the latter was a national concern and could not be secured without the education of the mothers. It was therefore, necessary that women should receive some appropriate education in this period of transition when the old system was passing away and the new ensuing.¹⁹

With all these efforts prejudices of the people were shaken considerably and the parents at least started thinking about the education of their daughters. During the year 1900, there were 349 girls schools including two high schools, the Alexandra at Amritsar and Dufferin at Lahore. The total number of the girls at schools was 14823.²⁰ In 1903, the number of schools for the girls increased from 360 the previous year to 366 and number of pupils attending them from 15,178 to 15,546.²¹ It was in this year that a demand for English became apparent. During 1902-

16. Maqbul Shah, Khan Bhadur, *Girls Primary Education*, Lahore, 1928, p.548.

17. *Punjabi Bhain*, Sikh Kanya Mahavidyalaya, Ferozepur, 1 June, 1907, p.3.

18. *The Tribune*, 7 February, 1947.

19. *Proceedings Government of India, Department of Education*. Secretary to the Government of India to the Government of Punjab, Delhi, 22 February, 1916, No.160.

20. Report on the Administration of the Punjab and its Dependencies for 1900-01, p.166.

21. Report on the Administration of the Punjab and its Dependencies for 1902-03, p.103.

03, 1790 girls were learning English against 1,734 the previous year.²² By 1905 the number of girls schools had increased to 459 and the number of students had risen to 17,953.

A beginning in the direction was indeed given, but the position at the end of the year was not satisfactory, as Lord Curzon remarked, that though some advancement was made, female education was still in a backward condition. He further said that "Only one girl in forty attended school."²³ One of the Inspectors remarked, "Female education is carried on in response to a demand that does not exist."²⁴ The necessity of framing a suitable curricula for the girl students, the lack of competent women teachers and the want of religious teaching were badly felt. The number of the institutions was of course increasing but no attention was paid towards the quality of education imparted there. Mr. Mathew in his book, *Education of India* writes, "Every girl who leaves school at ten years of age after irregular attendance in badly taught classes is using money sorely needed elsewhere." The overall position of female education in Punjab in comparison to other states of India, was rather deplorable.

Table - 1

(Number of Public Institutions for Females - 1910-1911.²⁵)

State	No. of Primary Schools	No. of Secondary Schools	No. of Arts Colleges	Percentage of Female Scholars to Female Population of School going age
Madras	886	31	1	6.2
Bombay	1,104	26	--	6.3
Bengal	3,065	17	3	4.2
Punjab	602	12	--	2.2

The Government of India, realising the backward condition of female education advocated the institution of model primary schools, the provision of more training schools and the strengthening of the staff of inspectresses. In its Proceedings of July 1911, it held;

That the inadequate results hitherto attained were partly due to the want of sufficient state encouragement and called on local governments to take earnest efforts to affect a real advance. It was impossible to rely on the efforts of local bodies to popularise female

22. Ibid., p.103.

23. *Proceedings of the Government of India, Home Department (Education)*, March 1913, Nos. 103-108, *Resolution on the Educational Policy of the Government of India*.

24. *Report on the Indian Education Commission*, 1883, p.553.

25. *Department of Education. Notification No. 348*. Calcutta, 10 March, 1911.

education and a direct stimulus must be applied by the Educational Department itself.²⁶

The Pioneer also wrote on the same lines :

Feminine ignorance has always been the source of many evils that sap the foundation of vigorous national existence, and any system of educational amelioration that fails to make proper provisions for its remedy must necessarily be illusory.²⁷

Under the consistent public pressure the resolution of the Government of India on Educational Policy of 1913, envisaged a three year programme in the field of female education, a separate curriculum of practical utility and an emphasis on elementary education and hygiene and surroundings of schools. To organise the education of girls the resolution urged that the cooperation of Indian women should be enlisted in an effort to place the education of girls on a sounder footing and to accelerate the progress.²⁸

In the meantime a memorial was presented to the Secretary of State, on 12th October, 1915 by a deputation introduced by Mrs. H. Fawcett which asked that a committee be appointed to inquire into the whole subject in India. The memorial was forwarded to the Government of India. Replying to the deputation, Mr. Chamberlain said that such efforts should be initiated by the people and the government on its part will support it. To quote:

I think that it is desirable that movements of this kind should originate in India rather than in London and that we should co-operate with the movement in India rather than create one in this country and originate it ourselves. You know what are the susceptibilities which would naturally be encountered, and what are the troubles which any indiscreet handling of it might arouse.²⁹

The Primary education for girls, was one of the principal questions of the moment and was obviously the crying need. The courses of studies in the primary schools were revised in 1889 and simplified. It was generally felt that "the curriculum should be so designed as to develop and train all the faculties or powers of the scholars to the maximum, to make them fit for the discharge

26. *Proceedings of the Government of India, Home Department (Edu.-A)*, July 1911, No. 70.

27. *The Pioneer*, 29 May, 1911.

28. *Government of Punjab, Home Department (Education) to Government of India*, 18 January, 1917, No.25.

29. *Proceedings of the Government of India, Home Department (Edu.-A)*, Enclosure No.2, 15 October, 1915. Speech delivered by Mr. Chamberlain to the Deputation on Female Education in India, dated 12 October, 1915.

of the duties and responsibilities of domestic and civil life, to make the acquisition of knowledge a thing of pleasure and not a task." ³⁰

The government was not in favour of having a uniform syllabus in the primary female schools, and felt that it should conform to the local needs of the people. "Unless the curriculum is in consonance with the feelings of the people chiefly concerned, the girls will be withdrawn from the schools." ³¹ Needle work was made compulsory in the middle standard examination. Spinning, knitting and crochet were also introduced. Many a times, it contributed to the earning of agricultural families and made students self-supporting. ³² Domestic economy was popular as a subject but was seldom practical. The kindergarten teaching was introduced by Miss Harl in Victoria School, Lahore.

Besides hand work, there was an increasing demand in the larger centres for an Anglo-Vernacular education for girls. But it was difficult to secure teachers with sufficient knowledge of English. In the mission high schools, English was well taught and girls could speak and write fluently. In many of the aided schools, English was taught as an optional subject. In these schools, the pupils did not, however, get much practice in speaking though they could read and understand easily.

There was an increase in the number of schools and scholars between the years 1913-14 to 1918-19, but as compared to the number of schools for boys, the increase was marginal.

Table - 2
Number of Primary Schools and Scholars (Female)
in Punjab during 1913-14 to 1918-19³³

Year	No. of Schools		No. of Scholars	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1913-14	4154	831	220555	36440
1914-15	4548	919	228561	38086
1915-16	4754	971	228567	49367
1916-17	4913	990	245628	51946
1917-18	5077	1015	243149	51987
1918-19	5167	1020	246771	52919

There was a favourable change in the attitude of the government. Formerly, it believed in 'supplementary assistance' but now it was felt that unless government takes up initiative, the

30. Ruchi Ram Sahni, 'Curriculum of Studies for Primary Schools for Girls,' *Proceedings of the Punjab Educational Conference and Exhibition*, held in December 17, 1917, p.556.

31. *Proceedings of the Government of India, Home Department (Education)*, op.cit., No. 160.

32. *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1915-16*, Lahore, 1916, p.22.

33. *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab from 1913-14 to 1918-19*.

progress of such an education cannot, but be slow. Accordingly, a conference of the experts was convened in February 1919 at Lahore to consider the existing situation and to make recommendations as to the course to be followed. It held :

- (i) that there should be at least one teacher for every 30 girls and two teachers in every full primary school;
- (ii) that a standard minimum scale of salaries should be enforced for all teachers in board or unaided schools.
- (iii) that an out station allowance be given to the teachers obliged to live away from their homes.³⁴

It further accepted that the efforts of the private enterprise were indispensable in this important field of education. It thus suggested that since the attendance at a denominational school was generally better than at a board school, that district board might open new schools, through the agency of private bodies i.e. board should select a suitable place for a school and provide the funds for its maintenance but ask some local religious association to undertake the management.³⁵ This was a complete reversal of the policy adopted with regard to boys schools where board schools were rapidly replacing aided institutions.

The scheme of studies for secondary schools was elastic. At the time of framing of a suitable curriculum for vernacular and Anglo-Vernacular girls schools, it was held, "As the education of the girls in this country is at an early stage of development, the courses of study be elastic and adaptable."³⁶ English 'for instance' was sometimes taught as a language and sometimes also used as a medium of instruction. In one school at Shimla and two in Rawalpindi, Bengali was taken up.³⁷ Kanya Maha Vidyalaya, Jullundur had a scheme of studies different from the standard one. Many of the girls in middle schools, very often took up a second vernacular in addition to a classical language Sanskrit or Persian. The teaching of house work in one form or the other was a common feature of all schools, although it was not always systematic. One practical subject, needle work, was taught in all girls schools.

In 1916, an alternative scheme leading upto school final examination was issued by the Education Department. Physiology, Hygiene and Domestic Economy were included as optional subjects for girls. Reacting strongly against the variety of curriculum in the schools, it was suggested in the Provincial Legislative Council that some uniformity in the syllabus should be enforced.³⁸

34. *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1918-19*, Lahore 1919, p.20.

35. *Ibid.*

36. *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1913-14*, p.21.

37. *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1914-15*, p.18.

38. *Government of Punjab, Home Department (Education)*, 18 January, 1917, No. 25.

The policy of the government had been to promote and stimulate popular interest and encourage all genuine attempts to provide educational facilities for girls. The course followed was to supplement and assist private initiative in female education. Direct control by the government was avoided except in cases where a definite wish was expressed for it by public as in the case of Victoria School at Lahore.³⁹

Liberal concessions were given to the students with the object of popularising the education of girls. Scholarships to 20 percent of the pupils in primary and middle schools were provided. Education was made free in all board and almost all aided schools for girls.⁴⁰ To attract better teachers, the salaries paid to women teachers was considerably higher than those paid to men of corresponding qualifications. Stipends varying in amount were paid to all female students under training for the teaching profession.

To boost up the tone of female education still further, a conference in Punjab was convened by the Director of Public Instruction in 1913. About 30 ladies and 20 men participated in it. The latter included Lala Lajpat Rai, Rai Bahadur Hari Chand, Babu Abinash Chandra Majumdar, Bhai Gurmukh Singh, Rai Bahadur Lala Sunder Das Suri and others.⁴¹

The framing of a suitable curriculum for girls formed the principal subject of discussion. It was eventually understood that the requirements of the Indian community was to have an Anglo-Vernacular scheme of education in which at a certain stage English should be added to the other subjects as well. It was further agreed that in the matter of grant-in-aid Anglo-Vernacular schools should be regarded on the same footing with schools which give instructions through the medium of English alone. Another important question taken up by the conference was the lack of government high schools for girls. "The subject aroused great enthusiasm. The general sense was that there should be atleast one high school for girls in each Division run and maintained by the government and intended as in the case of government schools for boys, to serve as models."⁴²

With all these efforts the number of the girls institutions and the number of pupils attending them increased. In the year 1914, first government high school was opened and the Victoria High School was provincialized and given an adequate staff. In the quinquennium, 1912-17, increase in the number of girl students was 25 per cent.

39. *Ibid.*, The Victoria School for Girls, Lahore, was managed by Punjab Association. It was made a government institution in 1913 and raised to the high grade.

40. *Government of Punjab, Home Department (Education)*, 18 January, 1917, No.25.

41. *Selections from the Newspapers*, published in the Punjab, p.332; *The Tribune*, Lahore, 23 April, 1913.

42. *Ibid.*, p.393; *The Tribune*, Lahore, 24 April, 1913.

With the increase in the number of primary and secondary schools, the need for trained vernacular female teachers became acute. The accepted notion was that a trained mistress should not be required to teach little children and that any one can manage infant class. School teachers were miserably paid and in most cases poorly qualified. The only government institution for training teachers for vernacular girls schools was the Normal School for Women at Lahore. Soon its efforts were strengthened by two privately managed training institutions. In addition, training classes were also maintained by several aided institutions.

The government tried in all possible way to enhance the number of trained teachers. The recurring grants received from the Government of India in 1912 were allotted by the Government of Punjab to the local bodies for vernacular education mainly on the basis of salaries paid to the teachers. The system was extended to municipal committees in 1913. It was done "to revise salaries and strengthening the teaching staff in the vernacular schools maintained by the boards, throughout the province."⁴³ The rates of aid given to schools under private management for staff was enhanced. In order to encourage the training of the teachers more training classes were opened and rate of stipends to the trainees in the normal schools were raised. As a result, the number of students in Lahore Normal School for Women, rose from 35 in 1912-13 to 101 in 1916, and the total number of female students in the normal school and training classes rose from 84 to 229.⁴⁴ The Rawalpindi Inspectress, Miss Must arranged 'Refresher Courses' for primary teachers. These were found most beneficial and district boards in the division afforded special facilities for teachers to improve their qualifications. In connection with the training of the teachers, excursions to mills, salt mines and infant Welfare Exhibition to Delhi were taken. Effects were found to be remarkable, as a wider field of life was open for teachers and their vision expanded.

In the field of higher education the situation was far from satisfactory. Whereas, in 1916 Bombay had the proud privilege of having a women's university, the Punjab did not have a women's college as late as 1912. Here again private bodies dominated the field. In 1912, intermediate classes were added to Queen Mary's School and was made over to a degree college in 1914-15. Education on modern lines was provided under the principalship of Miss Z. Welford – a well known educationist. The college classes were added to Kinnaird High School in 1913-14. It prepared women students for intermediate examination of the university. In 1917-18, college was granted affiliation upto the B.A. classes. Under the guidance of Miss Edwards, the Principal of the

43. *Government of the Punjab, Home Department (Education), op.cit., No.25.*

44. *Ibid.*

institution, the college made rapid strides in the academic and extra curricular activities. Thus till 1919, the province had to be content with two degree institutions only.

During the period of Dyarchy, though the members of the Legislative Council had been pleading the cause of female education, the progress, was by no means as rapid as male education. The girls schools were still given second rate treatment. They had to be content with building or equipment which was no longer required by a boys school. Similarly, "most of the men employed in girls schools were old *pandits* or *maulvis*, often transferred after superannuation from boys schools."⁴⁵

Thus, an advancement was made every year in one or the other fields of female education. Christian Missionaries, the Arya Samaj, the Khalsa Dewan, the Dev Samaj and other pioneers in the educational movement regarded initial difficulties not as an excuse for inertia but as an incentive to exertion. With the result, not only the prejudice of the people against *purdah* system and child marriage broken, but a desire to educate their daughters was kindled in the hearts of the parents, yet the progress as a whole was far from satisfactory. The belief that 'education of women is essential to national advancement was wide spread,' but the means to acquire it were limited. Financial stringency had retarded the spread of education as a whole and female education in particular. The small number of colleges could hardly suffice the needs of the girls of the province. The deplorable conditions of female education may be imagined from that fact that by the end of March 1927 the percentage of female literacy was only 1.37⁴⁶ – this in itself is an indictment of government's policy towards the future mothers of the nation.

45. Eighth, *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, 1917-22*, Vol. 1, p.133.

46. *Report on the administration of The Punjab and its Dependencies for the year 1926-27*, Lahore, 1926, p.116.

DR SATYAPAL AND ROWLATT ACT AGITATION IN THE PUNJAB

SHAILJA GOYAL*

Dr Satyapal (1885-1954), after getting a medical degree from Medical College, Lahore, joined army in 1915, during the First World War. He was granted a temporary commission as lieutenant in the Indian Medical Services. He was posted at Aden where he served under very arduous circumstances, to the satisfaction of his superiors. On the termination of war he started his medical practice at Amritsar and devoted himself to mitigate the sufferings of the people of Amritsar when influenza and malaria epidemics broke out in the city. He won many non-official *sanads* for his untiring services.¹ He earned a good reputation. His devotion to the public welfare raised him high in the eyes of the people of Amritsar. As a young man of strong nationalistic views, burning with patriotic fervour and having unflinching faith in the fraternity of all Indians, he was deeply moved to agitate to free India from the yoke of the Britishers. He came under the impact of on-going national movement in India and its leaders.

As President of the Platform Agitation of Amritsar he steered it successfully and emerged as a popular and prominent leader of the masses. However, it was his very active role in the Rowlatt Act Agitation in 1919 that made him the most outstanding leader of the province. With his powerful oration and rare skill of organisation, he moved and mobilised public opinion against the Rowlatt Act. He organised several public meetings in Amritsar and in other cities and addressed them. A number of meetings were held in the city under his presidentship.

The first world war was fought by the Britishers in the name of democracy. With the declaration of war by England against Germany, India was immediately yoked to the British war efforts.² Meritorious services were rendered by Indians during the war. No effort was spared and no help was grudged. Men, money and material all were supplied generously. Mahatma Gandhi too, had appealed to the people to help the *Raj* and in return had expected genuine consideration of India's claim for self-rule. But the British bureaucrats in India 'deeply resented and disliked any

* O-5, Tej Bagh Colony, Patiala.

1. *Collected Works of Gandhi*, Vol. XVI. Publication Division, Government of India, New Delhi, p. 86.

2. Raja Ram, *The Jallianwala Bagh Massacre—A Pre-meditated Plan*, Chandigarh, 1969.

kind of attempts made in the name of freedom and looked upon these attempts with feelings of grave suspicion and apprehension.³ The expectation and aspiration of leaders and the masses were belied by the Britishers on the termination of war. The rising prices, scarcity of necessities of life, out-break of plague, the failure of rains, the poor harvest in 1919, industrial unrest in the country and repression of the government in collection of taxes had made the Indians' condition miserable. Thus "the people were living over a volcano, which any act of exceptional tyranny might cause to burst out."⁴

It burst out on the introduction of Rowlatt Bills which were to take the place of Defence of India Rules of 1915. The Government brought in the Rowlatt Bills with an aim to curtail liberty and to use these measures as tools of repression to crush any national movement.

A committee known as sedition committee was set up by the Government of India in December 1917 under the Chairmanship of S.A.T. Rowlatt. So it was also popularly known as Rowlatt Committee. The Committee was appointed by Lord Chelmsford to investigate into the revolutionary movements in India and make suggestions to deal with it. The Committee submitted its report on 15th April, 1918 and it was published thereafter. It recommended the introduction of special legislation to forearm the Government against such an eventuality. The government sent these two bills for the approval of the legislature. The publication of the report in a censored form, further embittered the national leaders. They took it as a deliberate and calculated move to curb India's struggle for freedom. The first part of the Rowlatt Act known as the Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act 1919, provided that

1. A person without any sort of appeal could be sent to jail or Andamans.
2. The second part gave the executive the powers to place restrictions upon the liberty of persons suspected of complicity in anarchical and revolutionary movements.
3. The third one empowered the executive to arrest and search anyone without warrant.
4. The fourth one provided that with the powers of automatic continuance of confinement or restrictions of persons already conferred under the Defence of India Rules.
5. The fifth and the last part of the act provided drastic powers to the executive and restricted the liberties of the people.

Second part of the Rowlatt Act had the same provisions but it was laid down that the powers of the government are not to

3. J.K. Majumdar, *Indian Speeches and Documents on British Policy*, Calcutta, 1973, p. 183.

4. R.C. Majumdar, *Struggle for Freedom*, Vol. XI, Bombay, 1978, p. 304.

be exercised unreasonably. There was greater outcry against the Second Bill. Therefore, the government decided to drop it altogether to calm down the agitated public mind. The two bills provoked feelings of fierce indignation and resentment throughout the sub-continent. The Act was criticised by a popular cry, *no Dalil, no Vakil, no Apil*.⁵ Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru had made a prophetic utterance in the Council "My Lord, you are going to throw the country into a whirlpool of agitation, such as it has never witnessed before."⁶

Rowlatt Bills gave a rude shock to Gandhi.⁷ He described these bills as an 'Unmistakable' symptom of a deep-seated disease in the governing body.⁸ He felt disturbed over Rowlatt Bills⁹ and pleaded to the Viceroy that the government action left him with no other course except to resort to *satyagraha*.¹⁰

The Punjabee called the bills a 'bare-faced attempt on the part of a bureaucracy which has been demoralised by the exercise of the unrestrained power to interfere with liberty.'¹¹ *The Tribune* wrote, "the authorities are making one of those grave blunders, which all governments, not responsible to public opinion in moments of excitement, apt to make."¹² *The Leader of Lahore* said, "The Bills should be opposed in every constitutional way. Leaders should prepare themselves for passive resistance and a passive resistance movement should be set on foot in every part of the country."¹³

The countrymen rose as one man to oppose the Rowlatt Act under the leadership of the Mahatma Gandhi, who commanded in India all the traditional reverence which Indians have for a religious leader of acknowledged stature. After return from South Africa, he settled down in India and actively carried on several non-violent campaigns for the redress of wrongs inflicted on labourers, peasants and individual workers. This had further strengthened the faith and belief of his countrymen in his capacity to successfully pursue this movement of *satyagraha* against the bills. Dr Satyapal hailed it as 'a new force in our politics— a force with the most tremendous potentialities. Indian masses were suddenly awakened and the message of *satyagraha* entered the humblest home.'¹⁴

5. Satyapal and Prabodh Chandra; *Sixty Years of Congress*, Lahore, 1946, p. 227.

6. R.C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, Vol.XI, p. 330.

7. Rajendra Prasad, *Autobiography*, Bombay, 1957, p.107.

8. M.K. Gandhi, *Autobiography*, Ahmedabad, p.278.

9. Gandhi's letter to Madan Mohan Malviya, 8th February, 1919, No. 101; *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Vol XV.

10. M.K. Gandhi, *op. cit.*, p. 278.

11. *The Punjabee*, Lahore, 21st January, 1919.

12. *The Tribune*, Lahore, 22nd January, 1919.

13. *The Leader*, Lahore, 29th January, 1919.

14. Satyapal and Prabodh Chandra, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

A Satyagraha Committee was formed under the Presidentship of Gandhi. He took the following vow :

"Being conscientiously of opinion that the Bills known as the Indian Criminal Law (Amendment) Bills No.1 of 1919 and the Criminal Law (Emergency Powers) Bill No.2 of 1919, are unjust and subversive of the principles of liberty and justice and destruction of the elementary rights of an individual, on which the safety of India, as a whole, and the state itself is based, we solemnly affirm that in the event of these bills becoming law and until they are withdrawn, we shall refuse civilly to obey these laws and such other laws as the committee hereafter to be appointed may think fit, and we further affirm that in the struggle, we will follow truth, and refrain from violence to life, person, or property,"¹⁵ and every *satyagrahi* was to take this pledge before offering *satyagraha* against the Rowlatt Act and they were also required to take pledge to use *swadeshi* goods and to promote Hindu-Muslim unity. Dr Satyapal, Dr Kitchlew and Duni Chand of Lahore were the only three leaders in Punjab who took the pledge, a fact which was admitted by O' Dwyer himself.

The Congress Committee had been established in the city in 1917. The Local Congress Committee had come into prominence, the session of All India Congress Committee in 1919 was decided to be held at Amritsar.¹⁶ First meetings of protest against the Rowlatt Bills were held on 5th and 6th February in Amritsar. Again on 9th a public meeting was organised in the city which was addressed by Dr Gokal Chand Narang from Lahore. It was followed by a mass meeting of the Mohammadans on February 13th which was addressed by Dr Saifuddin Kitchlew, a co-patriot of Dr Satyapal. On 21st February, 1919 the Mohammadans held another meeting which dealt with the holy places. The meeting was addressed by Dr Satyapal. Anniversary of Anjuman-i Taraqqi-c Talim was celebrated in the city. The occasion was used to make political speeches. Dr Satyapal was one of the speakers. On Feb. 26th and 28th the meetings were organised to protest against the Rowlatt Act. It was on March 23rd that a meeting was held at Amritsar to lend support to the passive resistance movement but it was not disclosed what line the movement would take. This appeared in the meeting of 29th in which a *hartal* was decided upon.

Gandhi had given a call of *hartal* and to observe fast on 30th March, 1919 which was subsequently changed to 6th of April. There were processions and public meetings through-out India. The Punjab under the leadership of Dr Satyapal, Dr Kitchlew and Duni Chand quickly responded to the call of Gandhi. Dr Satyapal along with Dr Kitchlew spear headed the Rowlatt Act agitation

15. *The Bombay Chronicle*, 2 March, 1919.

16. V.N. Datta, *New Light on the Punjab Disturbances of 1919*, Shimla, 1975, p. 271.

in non-violent and peaceful manner in Amritsar which soon became a nerve-centre of the movement.

Dr Satyapal and his associate Dr Kitchlew had spared no pains to make the agitation a success under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. Dr Satyapal writes, "public meetings were held almost daily. Dr Kitchlew and I addressed them."¹⁷ It was under his leadership that the city decided to observe Gandhi's programme of protest against the Rowlatt legislation.¹⁸ Many cities observed *hartals* on the 30th March though it was postponed to 6th of April. Delhi observed a complete *hartal*—a historic one under the leadership of Swami Shardhanand. But Amritsar showed the way to India by observing completely non-violent and peaceful *hartal*, not with-standing the pressure, persuasion and provocation of the government. A day before the stipulated date of the proposed *hartal*, the Punjab government taking note of Dr Satyapal's activities and his speech on 23rd of March, 1919 had prohibited him from making public speeches under the Defence of India Rules, 1915. But still the *hartal* of 30th March, 1919 was observed with great enthusiasm. At the end, a public meeting attended by about 30,000 people was addressed at Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar by Dr Kitchlew.

The administration took all the precautionary measures to make the proposed *hartal* of 6th April, 1919 a flop. Almost all the tactics were adopted by the administration to keep the shops opened on that day. Threats were held to the shopkeepers and all the men who mattered including honorary magistrates, representatives of political, social and religious organisations were called to their residences or offices by the senior officers of Amritsar to have assurance from them against the proposed *hartal*. Even the local Congress Committee assured them that there would be no *hartal* in the city on 6th April, 1919.¹⁹

But Dr Satyapal and Dr Kitchlew appeared on the cricket grounds at about 5 P.M. on the 5th April where a cricket match was in progress. Dr Satyapal and Dr Kitchlew asked the players to abandon the match²⁰ and to observe a *hartal* on 6th April. Thereafter a secret meeting was called at Dr Satyapal's house and by 9-10 A.M. small party, swelled to 200 sightseers, which went round the town proclaiming the *hartal* by beat of drums.²¹ Dr Satyapal and Dr Kitchlew were leading the agitation in Amritsar as *satyagrahis* or soldiers of Mahatma Gandhi. 73 cities and towns

17. Satyapal and Prabodh Chandra, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

18. S.L. Malhotra, *Gandhi And the Punjab*, Chandigarh, 1970, p. 45.

19. V.N. Datta, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

20. J.P. Thompson, Chief Secretary of Punjab, *Minutes of Evidence*, 9th Dec, 1919, Vol. VI, p. 37.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

of Punjab observed the *hartal*. But the *hartal* in Amritsar was unique and unparalleled. Writing about agitation at Amritsar Dr Satyapal observed:

"Amritsar could easily be ranked as the first and foremost city in India to have successfully observed *hartals* of 30th March and 6th April... Even the poorest labourer suspended his work and slept with an empty stomach as he could not earn his wages. All shops, big and small, all business houses, restaurants, hotels etc. were closed.²² ... But the response was genuine and generous, grand, and magnificent The situation was growing tense. The agitation was gaining in volume and strength beyond our expectation and even our imagination."²³

The festival of *Ram Navmi* was observed with great pomp and enthusiasm. Though purely a Hindu festival, Mohammadans joined hands with Hindus to make it a national festival. Hindus and Muslims were seen drinking water in the same glass. Such scenes of solidarity and fraternity were never seen before or thereafter in the Punjab or elsewhere in India. This was a rare achievement of Hindu-Muslim unity for which Drs Satyapal and Kitchlew worked day and night to fulfil their oath, of Hindu-Muslim unity, they had taken. It was here that the cry of '*Mahatma Gandhi ki jai*' was raised for the first time.

Dr Satyapal invited Mahatma Gandhi to see public enthusiasm for this agitation and to guide them. Giving his evidence before the Disorders Enquiry Committee, Gandhi stated that Satyapal had immense liking for *satyagraha*. But having been conscious of the fact that neither he himself nor the people were fully aware of its principles, he invited the former to Amritsar to throw light on these principles.²⁴

On his invitation Gandhi boarded the train for Amritsar but on his way at Palwal, he was prohibited from entering the Punjab and he was put under police custody. A large number of arrests were also made in Punjab. The Press was also very critical of the government which had adopted repressive measures to scuttle the voice of the press. The editors of *The Tribune* and *The Pratap* were arrested. Kali Charan Ray, the Editor of *The Tribune*, Lahore, was tried and convicted by the Martial Law Commission.

The developments and success of the agitation in the Punjab and particularly at Amritsar irked Michael O' Dwyer, the Lt. Governor of the Punjab. Dr Satyapal and Dr Kitchlew were the

22. Satyapal and Prabodh Chandra, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 230.

It was estimated by the Government that one-third of the total *hartals* staged all over India against the Rowlatt Act between 30th March and 6th April, 1919 had occurred in Punjab (*Disorders Inquiry Committee*, Vol. VI, p. 72).

24. *Collected Works of Gandhi*, *op. cit.*, Vol. XVI, p. 401.

two 'scoundrels'²⁵ and 'grasshoppers'²⁶ in his eyes who were responsible for breaking the peace of the state. Without consulting the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar, he himself issued the orders on 9th of April 1919 to deport these popular leaders of the city. It was primarily to rope in Dr Satyapal along with Dr Kitchlew that the provisions of the Martial Law Act were made applicable to the activities of 30th of March. For him the cry of '*Gandhi ki jai*' was the cry of sedition and he believed in repressive measures to protect the Raj.

Dr Satyapal received a note from the District Magistrate on 10th April asking him to see the later at his residence at 10 A.M. He went to Dr Kitchlew to consult him about it. He, too, had received a similar letter. Dr Satyapal reached the residence of the Deputy Commissioner at 10 A.M. but Dr Kitchlew had not arrived till then, a few minutes later he too had come and both were admitted to the drawing room of the Deputy Commissioner. As soon as they entered, the side doors opened and there came rushing a score of European officials and non-officials. There was not a single Indian among them. The D.C. placed deportation order in their hands and they were informed that they were under arrest and would be taken to Dharamshala.²⁷ They were deported under the Defence of India Rules, 1915.

The news of their arrest spread like wild fire. People spontaneously suspended all business and closed their shops in the city and started gathering in the Hall Bazaar. After some time this crowd moved in a procession and started towards D.C.'s residence. It reached the Hall Bridge. They demanded the release of their beloved leaders. The crowd was excited but it was peaceful. The procession was empty handed and without sticks. Still the procession was fired at. As a result of which seven persons were killed and many were wounded. The crowd retreated and lost its self control, carrying with them a number of wounded and the dead, they indulged in acts of violence and arson. They killed some Europeans, wounded Ms. Sherwood, many buildings were set on fire and telegraph offices and railway stations were damaged in Amritsar.

As a result of these disturbances in Amritsar, de-facto Martial Law had been in force since the outrage of 10th April, 1919.²⁸ The people of the Punjab in general and of Amritsar in particular continued their agitation which ultimately culminated into the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre and introduction of Martial Law Act in Lahore, Amritsar, Kasur and Gujjaranwala which gave a new direction and strength to the freedom struggle in India.

25. *Report of the Disorders Inquiry Committee*, Vol. VI, Calcutta, 1920, p. 89.

26. Satyapal and Prabodh Chandra, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 231.

28. L.R. Rushbrook Williams, *India in 1919*, Calcutta, 1920, p. 36.

Mahatma Gandhi writes, "Had he (O' Dwyer) not made inflammatory and irritating speeches, had he not flouted opinions, had he not arrested Dr Kitchlew and Satyapal, the history of last two months would have been differently written."²⁹

29. V.N. Datta, 'Jallianwala Bagh, A Saga of Sacrifice', *The Tribune*, April 13, 1995, p.9.

JAPANESE FACTOR IN THE EARLY NATIONAL MOVEMENT IN THE PUNJAB

SUKHDEV SINGH SOHAL *

After the Russo-Japanese war (1904-05), Japan became 'a household word in India'.¹ The rise of Japan was counterposed to the British imperialism. The myth of Asian superiority was carefully cultivated in the press. Lala Lajpat Rai was so fascinated by Japan that he urged the Aryans to imitate Japan.² Jawaharlal Nehru commented that "the victory of little Japan over giant Russia stirred Asia greatly. The self confidence of the educated middle classes grew."³ The present paper is based on the coverage, *The Panjabee* gave to the Russo-Japanese war during 1904-05.⁴

I

The Russo-Japanese war (February 9, 1904– September 5, 1905) was reported in detail by the press in the Punjab. Every turn in the war in which the Japanese performed well was taken as a lesson for the readers. *The Panjabee* observed that 'the diminutive Nippon soldier out-disciplined, out generalled and out-fought the towering giant of a stalwart Russian Tommy'.⁵

On 9th February, 1904, Japanese naval units without any declaration of war staged a surprise attack on Port Arthur and succeeded in partially crippling the Russian Far Eastern Fleet and assuring Japan effective control of the sea in the vicinity of Korea and Southern Manchuria.⁶ With the fall of Port Arthur on January 2, 1905, hostilities resumed in real earnest on the Manchurian battlefields. The Japanese scored heavily against the

* Lecturer, Department of History, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar.

1. C.L. Nayar, *Progressive Japan : A Survey of Japan's Industrial and Political Progress*, Lahore, 1936, pp.1-3.
2. N.G. Barrier, 'The Punjab Politics and Disturbances of 1907,' unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, Duke University, USA, 1966, pp. 109,115.
3. Jawaharlal Nehru, *Glimpses of World History*, New Delhi, 1982, pp. 440-41, 964.
4. *The Panjabee*, a weekly newspaper in English began its first publication from Lahore on October 3, 1904 (Monday). It was owned by Mr Jaswant Rai, M.A. and edited by Mr K.K. Athavale who was selected by Lala Lajpat Rai. The paper became a bi-weekly on January 3, 1906 with annual subscription of Rs. Eight, *The Panjabee*, October 3, 1904 ; November 27, 1905.
5. *Ibid.*, October 24, 1904.
6. E.T. Thaden, *Russia Since 1801*, 1970, p.368. The area of conflict was close to Japan, whereas for the Russians it was more than 5000 miles away. Basil Dmytryshyn, *A History of Russia*, New Delhi, 1981, p.409.

Russians. *Daily Telegraph* despatch from Tokyo reported that the Russian casualties from 25th to 29th January 1905 estimated between 36,000 and 42,000 combatants. Japanese loss was about one-sixth or one-fifth of the Russian loss.⁷ In March 1905, the Japanese took Mukden.⁸ For *The Panjabee*, henceforth, the probable complete rout of the Russians in Manchuria became 'a very near possibility.'⁹ The battle of Tau-shima on 27th-28th May, 1905 between 'the colossal Armada of the giant-nation of Europe' and 'the modest and numerically weaker fleet of the giant-tamer nation of Japan' under brave little indomitable Admiral Togo was superior than the battle of Trafalgar (1805) as the British lost Admiral Lord Nelson in that battle.¹⁰ The Russians lost 10,000 men and the Japanese only 800. It was 'the neatest, the completest victory in the world's history'. Japan simply 'astonished the world'.¹¹ Treaty of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, signed on 5th September, 1905 was considered a sign of 'magnanimity of Japan' in scaling down the harsh conditions.¹² In the 18 months of bitter war, Japan utterly destroyed two Russian armies from Southern Manchuria, after inflicting upon them a loss of over 3,50,000 killed, wounded and made prisoners. Japan emerged victorious- 'truly a remarkable triumph'.¹³

II

The rise of Japan in Asia provided a critique to the British imperialism. The myth of Russian imperialism was implicitly equated to the might of British imperialism. The myth of Asian superiority was explicitly cultivated with a view to provide a booster to the national movement in India.

After the Japanese capture of Port Arthur on January 2, 1905, *The Panjabee* editorially referred to 'the clossus awakening'¹⁴ with the fall of Port Arthur 'a new epoch' began.¹⁵ The people of Asia evinced 'an inordinate curiosity to know everything possible about Japan and her people'.¹⁶ Even the religion of Admiral Togo became a matter of concern. The Christian missionaries perceived great opportunity for proselytisation and declared Christianity as the religion of Admiral Togo. The

7. *The Panjabee*, February 6, 1905.

8. Paul Clyde and Burton Beers, *The Far East : A History of Western Impacts and Eastern Responses (1830-1975)*, New Delhi, 1977, p.252.

9. *The Panjabee*, February 6, 1905.

10. *Ibid.*, June 1905.

11. *Loc. cit.*, Treaty of Portsmouth was 'another defeat for the Russians'; Basil Dmytryshyn, *op.cit.*, p.409.

12. *The Panjabee*, September 4 and October 2, 1905.

13. *Ibid.*, September 18, 1905.

14. *Ibid.*, February 6, 1905.

15. *Ibid.*, February 13, 1906.

16. *Ibid.*, May 22, 1905.

Panjabee reported that Admiral Togo is a 'firm believer in the infallibility of Lord Buddha.'¹⁷ With a view to educate the Punjabis, the history of Japan summarised from Alfred Stead's *Japan By The Japanese* was given wider coverage.¹⁸ Japan knocked the bottom out of European superciliousness and arrogance and given the lie to those who hold it an article of faith that Asia had been designed by God to do nothing better than only play second fiddle to Europe, to be an instrument for the aggrandisement of European races – a field for European exploitation. Japan had vindicated the honour of Asia by defeating Russia both by land and by sea. What wonder, if the whole of Asia glories in the glory of Japan.¹⁹ Japan would be 'the Heaven-anointed leader in the struggle for progress and amelioration in which the whole of the Asiatic continent would be engaged.' Quoting George Lynch's article on 'Japan's victory and its effects on Asiatic peoples' published in *Daily Chronicle* (London), the paper referred that 'the present war can hardly be considered as purely and solely a war between Russia and Japan. It marks the revolt of the East against the aggression of the West. The true meaning of the war is that the East at last represented by Japan has called a halt to European spoilation.'²⁰ European aggression in Asia had at last received its death-blow at the hands of Japan.²¹ Similarities between Japan and India began to be emphasised. The 'most remarkable resemblance between Japan and India was noticed in the matter of food.' Indian custom of 'scrupulously abstaining from beef and pork' was followed in Japan. Rice was noticed as a staple food in both the countries.²²

For *The Panjabee*, 'swadeshi goods meant all Asiatic goods and opposed to British goods in particular and European and American goods in general.' During the Swadeshi Movement, 'the Japanese merchants took the tide by the flood and opened shops in Calcutta for the sale of Japanese goods.'²³ Renewal of Anglo-Japanese Alliance (1905) was taken as 'a sign of weakness' to the defence of India. It was 'an undeserved reflection not only on the prowess of Indian sepoys but also on the honesty and good faith of the Indian people.'²⁴

17. *Ibid.*, June 12 and 17; November 20, 1905.

18. *Ibid.*, June 12, 19, 26, 1905.

19. *Ibid.*, June 19, 1905.

20. *Ibid.*, July 10, 1905.

21. *Loc. cit.*

22. *The Panjabee*, August 14, 1905.

23. *Ibid.*, September 16, 1905.

24. *Ibid.*, November 20, 1905. However, with the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance (1905), 'the British formally recognised the Japanese supremacy in the Korean Peninsula,' K.S. Latourette, *A Short History of the Far East*, London, 1970, p. 512. For P. Clyde and B. Beers the Japanese Protectorate over Korea was complete with the renewal of Anglo-Japanese Alliance : *The Far East*, p.254.

III

The Panjabee considered Russia 'the greatest military Empire of Europe' and Japan as 'a wee Asiatic nation.' The rise of Japan during the war was 'an eye opener to the world.'²⁵ Even in the early phase of the war *The Panjabee* projected Japan as 'the giant killer who has proved valour and invincibility' and expected Russia 'to stop the war and sue for peace.'²⁶ Japan very rudely disturbed Russia's dreams of an Asiatic Empire.'²⁷ The implicit humming of Asiatic superiority over European imperialism led to underplaying of Japanese nascent imperialism. Japan was considered 'an affectionate brother to China.'²⁸ Japanese dignity, modesty became role models through which the British imperial behaviour was targetted.²⁹ The Russo-Japanese war was 'watched with sympathetic interest by the Indians.' Victories of the Japanese were 'the cause of much rejoicing and jubilation.'³⁰ For the British historian Percival Spear, 'the triumph of Japan in the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-05 led to the first break in vision of British supremacy.'³¹ It lessened the feeling of inferiority in India. Nationalist ideas spread more widely with the cry of 'Asia for Asiatics.'³² *The Panjabee* rightly surmised the impending Japanese protectorate over Korea.³³ During the *Swadeshi* Movement the Japanese goods were projected as the Asiatic goods and an answer to British imperialism. Japan was projected as a model of transformation through which a small and geographically an isolated nation became an Asian Super Power. In the national movement, the Japanese factor assumed significance during the first decade of the twentieth century Punjab.

25. *The Panjabee*, December 26, 1904.

26. *Ibid.*, October 3, 24, 1904.

27. *Ibid.*, July 10, 1905.

28. *Ibid.*, February 6, 1905.

29. The Japanese received the news of capture of Port Arthur with dignity and calmness whereas the English mob ran amuck in the streets and lanes, mad with drink and fury because the British had upper hand in the battle of Transvaal in 1904: *The Panjabee*, January 30, 1905.

30. *The Panjabee*, July 28, 1906.

31. Percival Spear, *The Oxford History of Modern India (1740-1975)*, Delhi, 1983, pp. 318-19.

32. Jawaharlal Nehru, *op.cit.*, pp.441, 464.

33. *The Panjabee*, February 6, 1905.

UDHAM SINGH : A REVOLUTIONARY OF GHADR PARTY

NAVTEJ SINGH*

Much has been written about Udham Singh both at the popular and academic level. Both type of writings about him so far present him as a hero who revenged Jallianwala Bagh Massacre. To prove this the writers either showed him that at the time of shooting he himself was present in the Bagh or had come there after the shooting as a volunteer from the Sikh orphanage to look after the dead and wounded, and that he was deeply disturbed by the ugly scenes and then he took a vow to take revenge on O'Dwyer. These writings which establish his presence at the scene are made on the basis of the statement of Rattan Devi quoted in Rupert Ferneaux's book but with distortion.¹

Firstly, if Udham Singh wanted to have revenge on O'Dwyer, why did he shot at Lord Zetland, Lord Lamington and Sir Louis Dane? Secondly, after his arrest at Caxton Hall the police recovered from his pocket a diary of 1940 and another of 1939 from his room. Both the diaries had addresses of Lord Zetland and Lord Wellington besides O'Dwyer, why? Thirdly, why did he wait for so longer a period to kill O'Dwyer, though he was in England continuously from the end of 1933 onward and before that during 1920 to 1927 he could have gone to England when he was travelling the world over? Fourthly, when in July 1927 he arrived in India from U.S.A. with ammunition and revolvers to raise a revolt against the British and was arrested the next month, where was the plan to assassinate O'Dwyer? Besides these questions the writers have also mis-stated some facts and events especially about his name, date and place of his birth, etc. All these writings so far published not only have created some sort of confusion and lack proper perspective but an English writer has gone to the extent of claiming that Udham Singh was a

* Reader, Department of Punjab Historical Studies, Punjabi University, Patiala.

1. For instance see Piara Singh Data, *Vatan De Shaheed*, Delhi, 1955; Furneaux Rupert, *Massacre at Amritsar*, 1963; J.S. Grewal & H.K. Puri, *Letters of Udham Singh*; B.S. Maighowalia, *Sardar Udham Singh, A Prince Among Patriots of India*; Gurmukh Singh Musafir, *Vihveen Sadi De Shaheed*, New Delhi, 1968; Roger Perkins, *The Amritsar Legacy*, Chippenham, 1989; Fauja Singh, *Eminent Freedom Fighters of Punjab*, Patiala, 1972; Gurcharan Singh, *Sunam Da Surma Sardar Udham Singh*, Delhi, 1981; Jagan Nath Sandhey, *Bharat Da Gaurav, Sardar Udham Singh*, Sunam, 1975; Kesar Singh, *Udham Singh, A Great Martyr*; Suba Singh, *Inqlabi Yodha Udham Singh*, Amritsar, 1974; Siah Sunami, *Sunam da Ithas*, Sunam, 1982; and Sikander Singh, *Udham Singh*, Amritsar, 1998.

double agent of both the British and the German Secret Services.² Therefore it is desirable to search for the truth.

Udham Singh was born on 26 December 1899 at Mohalla Pilbad, Sunam in a poor Kambo family. His childhood name was Sher Singh. His father's name was Tehal Singh and mother's Harnam Kaur. He had an elder brother Sadhu Singh. Tehal Singh lived by doing odd job of selling vegetables; domestic servant or a chowkidar when suddenly Harnam Kaur passed away leaving behind her husband and two infant children. After some time Tehal Singh decided to quit the job and took the children to Amritsar in order to teach them some religious education with some acquaintance. On the way he became seriously ill and died at Amritsar. At this time the orphaned brothers were only eight and six years old. Some known person admitted them in the Central Sikh Orphanage, Putligarh in 1907. In the register Udham Singh's name is written as Sher Singh.³

In the orphanage Udham Singh and his brother were given the lessons in Sikh religion and history. This was the initial influence on them.⁴ The children here learnt some handicraft and the elementary education. Unfortunately the elder brother died with fever after some years. Tragedy after tragedy made Udham Singh serious but thoughtful and helpful. There is no evidence to show, when did Udham Singh had left the orphanage but it is on record that in 1918 he was working as a carpenter or motor-mechanic in Mombasa or Mesopotamia. He came back to India in June 1919 and after staying for some time went to British East Africa to work on railway workshops in Uganda. He returned in 1922 and opened a shop in Amritsar. It appears that he came in contact with the revolutionaries of the Ghadr Party at Nairobi. This shop had become the centre for revolutionary activities.⁵

Before leaving for Africa he had met the nationalists and the revolutionaries like Saifuddin Kitchlew, Sardar Ajit Singh, Sardar Basant Singh, Baba Bhag Singh and Master Mota Singh. He knew fully about the Ghadr Party of Kartar Singh Sarabha, Jallianwala Bagh episode, *siropa* given to Dyer and the Nankana Sahib tragedy irritated him. He worked also for some time among the Babbar Akalis. He was more interested in the literature of the Ghadr Party.⁶ In the beginning of 1924 he went to America and became an active member of the Ghadr Party.

2. Roger Perkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-63.

3. *Admission and Withdrawal Register*, Central Khalsa Orphanage, Amritsar, Serial Nos. 121-22, pp. 12-13.

4. Navtej Singh, *Challenge to Imperial Hegemony: The Life Story of A Great Indian Patriot Udham Singh*, Patiala, 1998, pp. 41-42.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61.

He helped illegal Punjabi migrants to reach America from Mexico and thus brought them under the influence of the Ghadr Party. It appears that with the help of the Ghadr Party he established his link with Bhagat Singh. In America, besides serving in San Francisco Udham Singh worked for some time in Chicago and Detroit. He also organised his separate 'Azad Party', an off-shoot of the Ghadr Party.⁷

From America he visited France, Germany, Poland, Switzerland, Lithuania, Hungary and Italy. He established contacts with Ghadr Party revolutionaries in Iran, Afghanistan, Italy, Germany, Panama, Mexico, Canada, U.S.A., Japan, Hong Kong, Malaya, Burma and Singapore. Bhagat Singh knew about his activities and was impressed by him. In July 1927 Udham Singh delivered revolvers, ammunition and currency to Bhagat Singh and members of the Ghadr Party. It appears that the workers of the Ghadr Party were under influence of Bhagat Singh's ideology and both were working together. At the information of somebody, Udham Singh was arrested by the police in August 1927 at Amritsar. Police recovered two revolvers from his possession. At the time of arrest Udham Singh announced that he had come from America with ammunition to overthrow the British in India. He showed sympathy with the Bolshviks of the U.S.S.R. In the police F.I.R. his name is given as Sher Singh. For the conspiracy of revolt he was sentenced to five years hard imprisonment. In the prison he was active in influencing other prisoners and for that he was not only shifted from time to time to various prisons but was flogged many times.⁸

On 23 March 1931 he was sad and thoughtful, the day of Bhagat Singh's martyrdom. Later on he wrote about it in the letters from the Brixton Prison, London in 1940 that after Bhagat Singh the revolutionary movement had failed. In the last months of 1931 he was released from the prison. He obtained a passport from Lahore in the name of Udham Singh and reached England by the end of 1933. In the previous passport his name was Sher Singh. In the Ghadr Directory of 1934 prepared by the police, his name was given as Sher Singh. It was only in 1937 that the police found that Sher Singh of the Ghadr Party had become Udham Singh. In England in the Gurdwara of London he came in contact with some Punjabis; among these Shiv Singh Jouhl became his close friend. During 1934 to 1938 he visited many European countries: France, Germany, Russia, Belgium, Poland, Holland, Austria, Hungary, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Norway and Sweden. During his stay in England he worked in various capacity. Though he was under police surveillance after 1937, he

7. Fauja Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

8. Navtej Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

did not stay at one place for long and normally sought lodgings in the houses of the Europeans.⁹

The Second World War began and the Ghadr Party was of the view that the time had come to revolt and overthrow the British from India. Udham Singh was in search of such an opportunity. On 13 March 1940 at Caxton Hall there was a meeting of British imperialists who were making suggestions to the government how to maintain its control over the colonies such as India. After the end of meeting Udham Singh shot dead O'Dwyer and wounded Zetland, Lamington and Dane. The address of Lord Wellington (alongwith the addresses of O'Dwyer and Zetland) in both the diaries of 1939 and 1940 proved that he wanted to kill Wellington because he was the Viceroy at the time of martyrdom of Bhagat Singh. Lord Zetland was the Secretary of State for India at that time and the Ghadr Party was of the view that India was pushed to the war against her wishes.

So far O'Dwyer was concerned, Udham Singh was keeping an eye on him for the last twenty years. He was not only responsible for the deaths of many Ghadr Party revolutionaries but for their tortures and long imprisonments in the far away places. He forced rural Punjab in the recruitment to the British army to be used as cannon fodder in the World War-I and in doing so he repressed the village society. The next came Jallianwala Bagh shooting, Martial Law and the repression. O'Dwyer had not stopped here but he remained vocal to the policy of keeping India with 'iron hand.' In the meeting he made fun of the colony people and thus had become a notorious tyrant in the eyes of Udham Singh. Dane and Lamington were supporters of O'Dwyer's thinking. In fact Udham Singh wanted to target some Britishers connected with Indian affairs in order to begin the revolt and these officials had already earned his wrath very sincerely.

Udham Singh was smiling at the time of arrest and he made a statement justifying his action. It follows:

I take my revolver from home with me to protest. In the beginning of the meeting I was standing up. I did not take the revolver to kill but just to protest. Well then when the meeting was already finished I took the revolver from my pocket and I shoot like I think at the wall. I just shot to make the protest. I have seen people starving in India under British imperialism. I done it, the pistol went of three or four times. I am not sorry for protesting. It was my duty to do so. Put some more. Just for the sake of my country to protest.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 86-108.

I do not mind what sentence. Ten, twenty or fifty years or to be hanged. I done my duty. Actually I did not mean to take a person's life, do you understand. I just mean protesting, you know.¹⁰

Some Punjabis and a few Englishmen lead by Shiv Singh assisted Udham Singh in his trial. From the prison Udham Singh wrote 14 letters to Shiv Singh, the Ghadr Party in America and to some others. He conceived a plan for his escape. The letters reflect his fearless personality, his sense of making any sort of sacrifice for the freedom of India and his devotion towards Bhagat Singh. He also went to hunger strike for 42 days in order to inspire Indians.¹¹

On 5 June 1940 at the time of death sentence Udham Singh made a written statement in which he criticised the exploitative and violent policy of British imperialists. It ran:

I do not care about sentence of death. It means nothing at all. I do not care about dying or anything. We are suffering from the British Empire. I am not afraid to die. I am proud to die. I want to help my native land, and I hope when I have gone that in my place will come others of my countrymen to drive the dirty dogs. I am standing before an English jury in an English court. You people go to India and when you come back you are given prizes and put into the House of Commons, but when we come to England we are put to death. In any case I do not care anything about it, but when you dirty dogs come to India— the intellectuals they call themselves, the rulers—they are bastard blood caste, and they order machine guns to fire on Indian students without hesitation.... Machine guns on the streets of India, mow down thousands of poor women and children wherever your so-called flag of democracy and Christianity flies. I have nothing against the public at all. I have more English friends than I have in India. I have nothing against the public. I have great sympathy with the workers of England, but I am against the dirty British government. You people are suffering the same as I am suffering through those dirty dogs and mad beasts. India is only slavery. Killing, mutilating and destroying. We know what is going on in India, people do not read about it in the papers. Hundreds of thousands of people being killed by your dirty dogs....¹²

But the imperial structure did not like to listen the truth and on 31 July 1940 martyred this great revolutionary of the Ghadr Party.

In fact Udham Singh was an active member of the Ghadr Party and a supporter of its ideology. It has been proved from

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 113-14.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 173-74.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 179-181.

the reports of the British Secret Service, the Ghadr Directory of 1934, the Police F.I.R. of 1927 and the inquiries of 1940. His statement in the court cited above was deeply influenced by the Ghadr ideology. The secret service reports and reports of the Home Ministry proved that he was not a member of any secret service of any country but a Ghadr Party worker whom the prevailing conditions of the World War impressed that it was the time to begin revolt against the British. The act of Udham Singh was the beginning of the revolt. It is reasonable to mention that during his long revolutionary tenure Udham Singh had many names including Ude Singh, Udhan Singh, Frank Brazil, U.S. Sidhu, His Highness Prince U.S. Sidhu and Mohamed Singh Azad. But he was certainly not Ram Mohamed Singh Azad. Mohamed Singh Azad was tattooed on one of his arm and it was his last name. He was not only against slavery, exploitation and repression but he had the ability to challenge such inhuman activities. It was because of his character that he could raise his arm in the British court to say 'Long Live Revolution,' 'Down with British Imperialism,' and 'Long Live India' and in doing so he not only carried forward the revolutionary tradition of Punjab but became immortal in the history of humanity.

**THE ISSUE OF LINGUISTIC REORGANISATION
IN PUNJAB (1947-1966) :
A STUDY OF ADMINISTRATION'S STRATEGIES**

DR S.S. TIWANA*

In the pre-partition days, there was a competition among the Muslims, the Hindus and the Sikhs, the three ethnic groups in the State, for representation in the legislative bodies and for shares in the services. As representation in the governmental bodies and the services was granted on the basis of communal identity, the contest among the three communities proceeded along religious lines. It led to the growth of communal organisations among the three ethnic entities. In this process of competing, the three communities became increasingly conscious of their separate identity and political rights. As the time for independence approached, the Sikhs tried to seek such territorial regions as would protect their interests vis-a-vis the other communities. They even demanded the creation of a Sikh State "for the preservation and protection of the religious, cultural and economic rights of the Sikh nation."¹ But because of the dispersal of Sikh population in all parts of Punjab and not having majority in any district, the demand for a Sikh Homeland was not accepted by the colonial rulers. Their historic rivalry with the Muslims prevented them from joining Pakistan. They decided to cast their lot with the Indian Union in the hope that the Congress Government would honour its promises and ensure a glow of freedom to them. In this fond hope, the leadership of the Akali Dal paid no heed to the overtures of Jinnah and some British officers who promised favourable treatment to the Sikhs in the event of their parting company with the Congress.²

As a large number of Sikhs migrated from Western to Eastern Punjab on the eve of partition, the percentage of the Sikh population in the central districts of Indian Punjab increased subsequently. Increase in their numerical strength placed the Sikhs in the position where they could demand political concessions from the Federal Government. It was precisely for this reason that the Shiromani Akali Dal decided to join the Congress Ministry in Punjab after partition. However, the change in the

* Reader, Department of Public Administration, Punjabi University, Patiala.

1. Working Committee Resolution, quoted in Harbans Singh, *The Heritage of the Sikhs*, New Delhi, 1983, p. 302.

2. *Ibid.*

position of the Sikhs roused apprehensions in the minds of the Hindus of Punjab and they became the main opponents of the territorial and political demands of the Sikh community. The leadership of the Congress Party in the State as well as at the Centre was not prepared to ignore the Hindu view-point while dealing with the religious and political demands of the Sikh community. This attitude of the Congress leadership alienated the Sikh community and caused stresses and strains so far as smooth relationship between the State and the Central Government was concerned. A brief survey of the religious and political demands of the Sikh community in the post-Independence era and the attitudes of the Hindus and the Congress Government towards these demands will provide us with a frame-work to analyse the nature of the linguistic problem in Punjab.

The Sikhs had joined the Indian Union, hoping that no constitutional arrangement would be forced on them without their consent and their special privileges as a minority community would be protected.³ But the dominant trend in the Constituent Assembly was not in favour of giving any special rights to the minorities, particularly to the Sikhs. The secular basis of the Constitution also militated against the grant of such privileges. This step caused considerable hurt to the Sikh psyche and the Akali members in the Constituent Assembly expressed it by refusing to put their signatures on the Constitution.⁴ The failure of the Constituent Assembly to protect the special privileges of the Sikhs alienated the Sikh Community from the national mainstream. They developed a feeling that the Congress leadership had betrayed them and failed to keep its pre-independence promises. Further insult was added to their injuries when the Government took certain policy decisions which went against Sikh interests. In a confidential policy circular, issued by the Governor of Punjab to the Deputy Commissioners on October 10, 1947, the whole of the Sikh community was labelled as lawless and a menace to the peace-loving Hindus of Punjab.⁵ Similarly, a Presidential Ordinance issued in 1950 deprived the Sikh scheduled castes of their privileges and reservations. There were allegations of discrimination against the Sikhs in the services also. Red tapeism and delay in the resettlement work created serious difficulties for Sikh migrants. The Sikhs felt that they had been let down and given a raw deal in the distribution of lands between the Hindus and the Muslims. Master Tara Singh gave expression to Sikh sentiments in the following words: "Every

3. Jaswant Singh (ed.), *Master Tara Singh Jiwan Sangharsh Te Udesch* (Punjabi), Amritsar, 1972, p. 51.

4. Satya M. Rai, *Punjab Since Independence*, Delhi, 1986, p. 253.

5. Rajinder Kaur, *Sikh Grievances & Demands : A Brief Account*, a leaflet published by Secretary Istri Akali Dal, New Delhi (n.d.), p. 2.

minority except the Sikhs had been given justice. The Muslim demand was for Pakistan, they got it. The scheduled castes wanted representation on population basis, they got it. The Sikhs demanded that they would not like to be dominated by any single community and they were being discriminated against for repeating the same demand as the Hindus had supported before partition and with which the Congress sympathised."⁶

It was in this situation that the Akali leadership began to chalk out alternative strategies for the protection of the rights of the Sikh community. The two issues which came handy to them for this purpose were those of language and re-organisation of the State on linguistic basis. The Akalis demanded that there should be facility for the development of Punjabi language so that their separate religious identity and culture were protected. Similarly, they demanded the creation of a Punjabi-speaking State so that the Sikhs could enjoy political power of their own.

Language Problem

In pre-partition Punjab, two social reform movements gained strength in the Punjab. The Arya Samaj struck roots among the Hindu urban population and propagated the use of Hindi in the Devanagari script. The cause of Punjabi, on the other hand, was taken up by Singh Sabha Movement, a religious organisation of the Sikhs, during the same period. This organisation gave a religious overtone to Punjabi despite the fact that it was spoken by all the people living in the province. The court language and medium of instruction in all the schools of Punjab was Urdu. The vernacular newspapers, representing different viewpoints and political interests, were printed in Urdu in the pre-partition days.⁷

The language, however, got linked with communalisation of politics in the province. In the ever-growing communal atmosphere, the demands for giving important place to Hindi and Punjabi gained momentum rapidly. Ultimately, the Union Government agreed to accede these demands and recognised the status of both these languages in the educational curriculum under Sikandar-Baldev Singh Pact.⁸

Punjabi language could not acquire the status which other languages such as Bengali and Telugu enjoyed in their respective regions. Language is regarded as a unifying force which cuts across sectarian and communal division. In the case of Punjab,

6. *The Tribune*, October 20, 1949.

7. The position of Urdu, however, was limited to the male Punjabi population of the province. Among non-Muslim women, Urdu was not so well known. Hindi was rather widely known among the Urban Hindus because of the influence of the Arya Samaj. In the rural areas, although the number of literate women was very small, the knowledge of Gurmukhi script was rather more widely prevalent, irrespective of the religious affiliations. For details, see Satya M. Rai, *op. cit.*, fn.4, pp. 269-70.

8. Amarnath Vidyalkar, *Bahmi Itihad Aur Regional Formula*, Jalandhar, 1956, p. 76.

however, the language issue further deepened the existing communal divide.

The Sikhs resented parity between the two languages. They argued that the spoken language of the Punjab was Punjabi and most of the literature of the Punjab was in Gurmukhi script; therefore, Punjabi in Gurmukhi script should be declared the sole language of Punjab. But the Hindus opposed it and did not agree to even these very reasonable suggestions. The Senate in the Panjab University at its meeting held on June 9, 1949 rejected by majority vote the proposal of Punjabi being adopted as the medium of instruction.⁹

Sachar Formula

In October 1949, the Punjab Government submitted its proposals, popularly known as 'Sachar Formula'¹⁰ on the language issue. According to this formula, the state was divided into two linguistic regions, Punjabi and Hindi. The language of the region was to be the medium of instruction in all the schools upto matriculation stage and the children were required to learn the other language at the secondary stage. The choice for the medium of instruction in the educational institutions was left entirely to the parents or guardians of the pupils. The formula, however, was not obligatory for unaided recognised schools where the medium of instruction was to be determined by the management concerned. It was decided that English and Urdu would remain the official and court languages and were to be progressively replaced by Hindi and Punjabi.

The Sachar Formula was hailed by the Sikhs as a welcome step though they criticised the right of the parents to choose and determine the medium of instruction for the education of their children. The proposals, however, met with severe criticism at the hands of the Hindu organisations like the Arya Samaj, the Jana Sangh and the Hindu Mahasabha. In order to counter the Akali demand of the Punjabi Suba and the claim of Punjab as the regional language of the Punjabi speaking area,¹¹ these organisations and Hindu vernacular press started a campaign that the Hindus of this area should declare Hindi as their mother-tongue.¹² By disowning the Punjabi they made it the language of the Sikhs and communalised the very issue of language.

9. A.C. Kapoor, *The Punjab Crisis*, New Delhi, 1985, p. 153.

10. Naranjan Singh, *Papers Relating to Hindu Agitation in Punjab*, Chandigarh, 1957, p. 11. The proposals were signed by Bhim Sen Sachar, Gopi Chand Bhargava, Ujjal Singh and Kartar Singh.

11. *Akali Patrika*, October 22, 1949.

12. *Ibid.*, January 23, 1951.

Regional Formula

The Congress, in order to accommodate the communalists of both shades, worked out a regional formula in 1956. This formula divided the State of Punjab into two regions, namely Punjabi-speaking and Hindi-speaking regions.¹³ The Formula provided for one legislature for the whole State of Punjab which would be the sole law-making body for the entire State and one Governor for the State, aided and advised by a Council of Ministers responsible to the State Legislative Assembly for the entire field of administration. There was a proposal to make a Punjabi and Hindi zone in Punjab, having different regional Councils. The Councils would have powers, excluding those of law and administration, tax and finances, and the decisions of these Councils would be binding on the Cabinet. Any dispute would be settled by the Governor. The language of Punjabi region would be Punjabi and the script would be Gurmukhi. In PEPSU, the Punjabi formula would be applicable to the Punjabi zone and the Sachar Formula in the Hindi zone. There would be no difference between Hindu and Sikh scheduled castes.¹⁴ The Punjab Government would establish two separate departments for developing Punjabi and Hindi languages. The general safeguards proposed for linguistic minorities would be applicable to Punjab like those in other states of the Union of India. In accordance with and in furtherance of its policy to promote the growth of all regional languages, the Central Government would encourage the development of the Punjabi language.¹⁵

The Regional Formula was accepted by the Akalis. Master Tara Singh, while explaining the reasons for accepting the Formula, said that it fulfilled the aspirations of the Sikhs to an extent and at the same time did not give them any opportunity to dominate others, a power which if given, might make them undemocratic and narrow minded.¹⁶

The Regional Plan was not accepted by the Hindu communalists and the people of Haryana. The Hindu Mahasabha at a Conference held at Karnal on June 25, 1956 resolved that the scheme of the Regional Formula was no solution to the Punjab problem and was also no solution to the peculiar backwardness of Haryana.¹⁷ In March-April 1956, Punjab Jana Sangh leader, Balramji Das Tandon observed fast against the Regional Formula. The Government of India was accused of yielding to the pressure of the Akalis by relegating Hindi as a second language in

13. The outline of the scheme of the Regional Formula was laid on the table of Lok Sabha on April 3, 1957, and came into force in November 1957.

14. Kshitish, *Storm in Punjab*, New Delhi, 1981, pp. 118-119.

15. A.C. Kapoor, *op.cit.*, p. 167.

16. *The Tribune*, March 16, 1956.

17. Harbans Singh, *op.cit.*, p. 354.

Punjabi-speaking region. Partap Singh Kairon was also against the Regional Formula and was in favour of Maha Punjab.¹⁸

It was on the basis of this Formula that the Akalis gave up their demand for a separate Punjabi Suba and decided to eschew politics. The legislative wing of the Akalis joined the Congress in 1957 and fought elections on the Congress ticket in 1957 General Elections.

In April 1957, after the formation of the new Ministry, the Hindu Raksha Samiti started demonstrations against the Regional Formula. The Hindi press played a big role in fanning the Hindu Satyagraha. Concerned at the ferocity of this agitation, Giani Kartar Singh warned that if the Regional Formula failed, the Punjabi Suba Morcha would be revived. Lal Chand Sabharwal threatened that if Punjabi was imposed, the Morcha would launch protests in the streets. The Arya Samaj threw itself completely into the agitation and agitators' groups reached Chandigarh from even outside Punjab. Speaker Hukam Singh said that this agitation was a conspiracy aimed at finishing off Punjabi. Swami Atmanand said, "The Regional Formula means making Sikhistan of Punjab and Sikhistan means Khalistan. It being a border state, this conspiracy will not be allowed to succeed in Punjab."

The Regional Plan, thus, met with severe opposition from the Hindu sectarian groups and parties. The Government, too, was reluctant to implement it honestly on account of opposition from within. Faced with the opposition from the Hindu communal sections and unwillingness of the Punjab Government to enhance the status of Punjabi language, the Akalis once again renewed the demand for Punjabi Suba.

Demand for Punjabi Suba

The common programme (fight for freedom) and a common enemy (the British Government) kept the Akalis close to the Indian National Congress during the pre-partition phase. Strains developed in the Akali-Congress friendship after the country got independence. Akalis' anxiety to capture political power at the provincial level and Congress unwillingness to concede and accommodate the Akalis' claim often resulted in mutual quarrel and led to Akali agitations against the Congress Government. The Centre's refusal to re-organise Punjab on linguistic basis after acceptance of the principle of linguistic states provided the Akali leadership with a strong argument to agitate for the creation of a Punjabi-speaking State. Failure of the two experiments at coalition with the Congress in forming the Government in Punjab further heightened among Akali leadership a sense of alienation. Akali Dal launched an agitation for Punjabi Suba in 1955 in which

18. Kshitish, *op.cit.*, p. 119.

12,000 people were arrested. Recognising the extensive popular support of the Sikh Community behind Akali Dal, the Government conceded the demand for the formation of a Regional Committee within the Punjab legislature in 1956. The Regional Formula allowed the two zones, Hindi and Punjabi, a certain measure of autonomy in all matters except law and order, taxation and finance. The Akali Dal gave a trial to this scheme but got disenchanted soon. After parting company with the Congress, the Akali Dal launched another massive campaign in May 1960¹⁹ in which over 57, 000 people were arrested.²⁰ It was during this struggle for the creation of a Punjabi Suba that Sant Fateh Singh appeared on the political scene. He introduced a new convincing note into the Akali agitation for the Punjabi Suba by presenting this demand on purely linguistic considerations.

"We are not concerned about percentage. We want the Punjabi Suba to comprise in area where Punjabi language is spoken regardless of the fact whether the Sikhs are in a majority or minority." This statement of Sant Fateh Singh reassured many Hindus and brought them to his view-point. When Sant noticed that in spite of his having gained the confidence of the Hindus, the Congress Government stood firmly opposed to the Akali move, he decided to go on a fast unto death on December 18, 1960. Before starting his fast, the Sant is said to have advised the Sikhs to remain peaceful in case of any eventuality. "Every particle of the country is ours and any damage to it is damage to ourselves" declared the Sant. However, the Sant was persuaded to break his fast on 22nd day of his fast on an assurance from the Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru to concede the demands. Later, the Sant had three meetings with the Prime Minister on February 8, 1961, March 1, 1961 and May 12, 1961. In all these meetings, the Prime Minister assured him that the Government would do every thing for flourishing of Punjabi language in Punjab. But so far as the demand of Punjabi Suba was concerned, the Prime Minister had the impression that it could not be justified from any point of view.

Master Tara Singh, who felt let down by Nehru and the Congress, now himself undertook a fast unto death on August 15, 1961 to press the demand for Punjabi Suba. The Prime Minister in his appeal to the nation on the independence day made a special appeal to the people of Punjab not to be carried away by parochial feelings, mere emotions or wrong sentiments

19. In order to thwart the agitation, Master Tara Singh was arrested by the Punjab Government and kept under preventive detention for arousing the religious sentiments of the Sikhs against the Hindus. He was to lead the first *Shahidi Jatha* to Delhi.

20. The Government on the contrary had maintained that only 23,000 men were arrested. Khushwant Singh, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol. II, Delhi, 1977, p. 299.

and reminded them that even a good thing becomes bad if wrong means are used to achieve it. On August 28, 1961, the Prime Minister stated,

It has been repeatedly said that there was discrimination against the Sikhs, though instances of these have not been pointed out. I suggest, however, that if there was any such apprehension, a high level enquiry could be made into this matter to find out if there has been any such discrimination.

Master Tara Singh was also persuaded to break his fast after 48 days on October 1, 1961. On October 31, 1961, the Government passed a resolution appointing a Commission and it was published in *The Gazette of India* on November 4, 1961. On November 9, 1961, the Working Committee of the Shiromani Akali Dal, however, passed the following resolution:

This meeting of the Shiromani Akali Dal Working Committee feels amazed at the attitude of the Government in forming a high power Commission, the personnel of which is completely different from that which was communicated to the negotiators, the mediators and Master Tara Singh.

The Committee also regrets the attitude of the Government in keeping vague that real issue in terms of reference which led to the fast of Master Tara Singh, the question pertaining to the non-formation of the Punjabi-speaking State as a clear discrimination on a social plane. The Committee calls upon the Government to make due amends in their attitude in the spirit as shown during the course of negotiations by having mutually agreed to personnel of the Commission and consider the real issue so as to enable the Shiromani Akali Dal to cooperate with the Commission and thus put forward their case for a Punjabi speaking State, a cause for which they have been struggling and for which they have suffered immensely and which is based on principles of equality and justice.

On the basis of the above resolution, the Akali Dal decided to boycott the Commission. Master Tara Singh was stated to have emphatically said that if the Commission's personnel were changed, the Akali Dal would be prepared to place its case for the Punjabi Suba. He further stated, "The only discrimination against the Sikhs was about the non-formation of the Punjabi Suba."

Some of the parties like the Punjab Hindi Raksha Samiti, the Haryana Lok Samiti, Arya Pradeshik Pratinidhi Sabha and the All India Bhartiya Jana Sangh also put forward complaints of

discrimination against their community (non-Sikhs). Shri Abdul Gani Dar, MLA also filed a memorandum complaining of discrimination against the Muslims.

The Commission gave its report on January 9, 1962, and found that there was no basis for any charge of discrimination against the Sikhs and came to the conclusion that Punjabi Suba was a camouflage for the demand of a Sikh State. The failure to coerce the Government led to mutual recriminations among Akali leaders and division within the Akali Dal. The Akali organisation even lost some electoral support in the third General Elections. The division within the Akali Dal now deepened and finally in 1962, Sant Fateh Singh set up a rival Akali Dal against that of Master Tara Singh.

The Master Akali Dal faction convened a Conference at Ludhiana on July 4, 1965, which recalled that the Sikh people agreed to merge in the common Indian nationality on the explicit understanding of being accorded a constitutional status of co-sharers in the Indian sovereignty along with the majority community and that solemn undertaking now stood cynically repudiated by the Congress Government. The Conference further resolved that there was no alternative left for the Sikhs in the interest of self preservation but "to frame their political demand for securing a self determined political status within the Republic of the Union of India."

In successive years, Sant Fateh Singh was successful in building a new coalition among the Akalis and defeated Master Tara Singh in Gurdwara elections in early 1965. He now pressed with great vigour the Punjabi Suba demand but he and his lieutenants increasingly emphasised that they, in contradiction to Master Tara Singh and his followers, were interested in a linguistic state as an integral part of the Indian Union.

On account of Chinese aggression in 1962, the Punjabi Suba demand went into the background. In March 1963, the Punjabi Himachal Jana Sangh Working Committee demanded that the Provincial Assembly be dissolved, the Punjab be made a centrally administrated State.

Jawaharlal Nehru died on May 27, 1964. In June 1964, Partap Singh Kairon had to quit following strictures passed against him by the Das Commission. Both the leaders were against the creation of Punjabi Suba. After the death of Nehru, Lal Bahadur Shastri became the Prime Minister who held talks with Sant Fateh Singh. He took the stand that the Government was ready to do anything for the advancement of Punjabi language and look into any Sikh grievances but felt that the issue of Punjabi Suba had been thoroughly examined before and there was no basis for its establishment. Then in August 1965, Sant Fateh Singh issued an ultimatum to the Government to accept the Suba demand within

twenty-five days otherwise he would go on a fast unto death effective from September 10, for fifteen days and, in case he survived the fast, he would then resort to self immolation by burning himself.²¹ From amongst the opponents of Punjabi Suba, there came threats of counter-fasts if the Government conceded the demand. Sikh leaders in the Congress party were themselves divided over the issue. Some fifteen Congress Sikh MLA's met to urge the Government to accept the Punjabi Suba demand,²² while other Sikh MLA's dissociated themselves from this stand.²³

Meanwhile, the conflict with Pakistan took a violent form and, as it intensified in early September 1965 Akali leaders asked that Sant Fateh Singh to give up the idea of his proposed fast in view of the emergency facing the nation. Union Home Minister, Gulzari Lal Nanda also announced that "the whole question could be examined afresh." The Sant finally withdrew his threat of self-immolation and called upon the Punjabis in general and the Sikhs in particular to rise in the defence of the country.

Three Member Cabinet Committee

Immediately after the ceasefire with Pakistan, Home Minister Nanda announced the establishment of a three member Cabinet Committee which would, with the advice of a Consultative Committee, drawn from among members of Parliament and headed by Lok Sabha Speaker, Hukam Singh,²⁴ seek a solution to State re-organisation in Punjab. There was a criticism of the Consultative Committee of MP's not only because it attempted to assume an independent role but also because its Chairman had been associated with the Akali Dal and the Punjabi Suba demand earlier.²⁵ The Congress Government and party in the Punjab, though divided, officially stood for the retention of the status quo. The Jana Sangh continued to oppose any plan that would result in the division of Punjab. Meanwhile, the Congress High Command also started giving consideration to the Punjabi Suba issue²⁶ and appointed a three-member Committee of its own, consisting of Kamaraj, Dhebar and Nanda, to help in the solution of the problem.

The Consultative Committee consisting of MP's was expected to submit its report by mid-March 1966, but by the end of February, Sant Fateh Singh began to express dissatisfaction at the slow pace with which the work of the Committee was proceeding and threatened to revive his plan of self-immolation unless a

21. *The Tribune*, August 17, 1965.

22. *Ibid.*, September 1, 1965.

23. *Ibid.*, September 3, 1965.

24. *Ibid.*, September 24, 1965.

25. *Ibid.*

26. *Ibid.*, February 14, 1966.

decision favouring the establishment of Punjabi Suba was made. Then, on March 9, 1966, the Congress Working Committee passed a resolution recommending that "out of the existing State of Punjab, a State with Punjabi as State language be formed. The Government is requested to take necessary steps for this purpose."²⁷

Though Morarji Desai, Ram Subhag Singh and Biju Patnaik voted against the resolution, it clearly reflected the dominant trend in the organisation. The resolution was vehemently opposed by the Jana Sangh and it started an agitation for the continuation of the status quo in Punjab. Its General Secretary, Yagya Dutt Sharma, began a fast unto death and the agitation spread to various parts of the State.²⁸

The Consultative Parliamentary Committee submitted its report on March 18, 1965 recommending that the Punjabi-speaking region be constituted into unilingual Punjab State, that the hill areas be merged with Himachal Pradesh, and that the Haryana region be formed into a Haryana State.²⁹ On March 22, 1965, Home Minister Nanda announced in the Lok Sabha that the Government had accepted in principle the reorganisation of the State on a linguistic basis,³⁰ and on April 18, he stated that the Government proposed to create by October 1, 1966 two States, Punjab and Haryana, out of the existing State of Punjab while the hills areas contiguous to Himachal Pradesh would be merged in that State.

Shah Commission

Later on, a three-man Commission³¹ headed by Justice J.C. Shah was appointed for the demarcation of the boundaries and it gave its report on June 5, 1966.

Two of the three members of the Commission recommended Chandigarh for Haryana; Una, Anandpur and Bhakra were given to Himachal Pradesh; Kharar Tehsil was recommended for Haryana. The Akali reaction to the report was sharp. Gurdial Singh Dhillon threatened to resign from his position. Kamraj, Darbara Singh and some other Central Ministers were in favour of giving Chandigarh to Punjab. But in June 1966, Chandigarh was declared a Union Territory. Master Tara Singh and most Ministers of Punjab threatened to resign over this issue. All the MLA's of Haryana also issued similar threats. Sant Fateh Singh,

27. *Hindu Weekly Review*, March 14, 1966.

28. Satya Pal Dang, 'Punjabi Suba Movement,' A paper presented at a Seminar in Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, January 26-28, 1982 (unpublished).

29. *Hindu Weekly Review*, March 21, 1966.

30. *Ibid.*, April 25, 1966.

31. Justice J.C. Shah as Chairman with Subimal Dutt and M.M. Phillip as members was appointed for demarcation of the boundaries.

too, demanded Chandigarh for Punjab. In August 1966, Lok Sabha passed the Punjab Re-organisation Act. Speaking on the Bill, Bhupesh Gupta and Hiren Mukherjee (CPI) wanted Chandigarh to be given to Punjab and Peter Alvares (PSP) said it should be in Haryana. Opposing the Bill, Sardar Kapur Singh said:

The Sikhs cannot accept it because: (i) it is born of sin, (2) an untrained midwife has helped in its birth, and (3) it is against national interest and attacks national unity. This is the betrayal of the Sikhs who have protected the Hindu race.³²

On November 1, 1966, Punjab was divided once again. This broken-up and disfigured Punjab was a sight that wounded the hearts of both Sikhs and Hindus. The Punjabi Hindu had desired a Maha Punjab, the Sikhs, in spite of being 56 per cent in the new Punjab, were unhappy because the areas that the Akalis had been aspiring for in Rajasthan, Himachal Pradesh and Jammu and Kashmir were denied to them. Creation of Punjabi Suba did not fully solve the Akali problem. Chandigarh and some other Punjabi-speaking areas were not transferred to Punjab and control of Bhakra Dam and some Headworks was taken over by the Centre. This gave the Akalis a grouse to continue their agitation for getting these demands conceded.

32. Kapur Singh, *Great Betrayal of the Sikhs*, Chandigarh, p. 7.

BOOK REVIEWS

Historical Analysis of Giani Gian Singh's Writings, by Sukhdial Singh, published. by UICS (P), Ltd. Jalandhar, 1996, pp. 186, price Rs. 185/-

The book under review deals with the life and works of Giani Gian Singh. The present work is Sukhdial Singh's Ph.D. thesis submitted to Punjabi University, Patiala in 1994.

Giani Gian Singh was the first among the Sikh Historians who undertook extensive tours and collected the Sikh traditions, it was the material on which he mostly based his writings. He excels other chroniclers by writing comprehensive Sikh history. His persistent efforts and untiring pursuits produced voluminous work of such a magnitude.

The writing was the first love of Giani Gian Singh and through it he wanted to present the past glory of the Sikhs. His approach to the Sikh history has been traditional and full of Sikh sentiments but at certain points analytic and probing also. Though he deviated at certain places from the principle of writing objective history yet his narration of history is useful inspite of the fact that there is lot of mythical evidences contained in it. Unhistorical elements has also been introduced, particularly describing the period of the Sikh Gurus and Banda Singh Bahadur.

Sukhdial Singh's book is logically divided into convenient nine chapters. The chapter I deals with the 'Early Sikh Historiography.' The Sikh Historiography remained limited to the poetical form up to the last decade of nineteenth century and took a significant turn when the Sikh history began to be written in prose, of course, in historical perspective. Hence Giani Gian Singh can be regarded as the founder of such historiography. A brief survey of Gurmukhi writings prior to those of Gian Singh have been given in to understand the Sikh historiography. He has also given an extensive list of the sources which Gian Singh consulted for his writings.

Second chapter of the book is 'Giani Gian Singh's Life and Times.' It provides scanty information. He is said to have lead the life of celibacy. The cause for his remaining bachelor is attributed to the economic condition of his family. We know that his other brothers were married. There must be other factors also which are not examined by the author. The Census Reports of the nineteenth century in Punjab show that the number of females

were far less than the males. This was the reason that the male members of this region bought the women from other states where the number of women were more and they were easily available. The second factor which is also important was the share of land in one's name. While tracing his family history, Gian Singh writes that his family had connection with the famous Rajput ruler Prithvi Raj Chauhan. He further writes that his was the fifth generation from Bhai Mani Singh who was brought up and educated by Mata Sundri, wife of Guru Gobind Singh.

Giani Gian Singh had a long inning to play and as such he closely watched the rise and fall of Sikh Kingdom. He was contemporary of the Rulers of Patiala and Nabha States namely Maharaja Narinder Singh, Mohinder Singh, Bhupinder Singh, Maharaja Heera Singh and Ripudaman Singh respectively. His relations with these rulers kept on changing from time to time. Though he was a contemporary of the Singh Sabha yet we do not find any influence of this movement on his writings.

Twarikh Guru Khalsa, is the third chapter of the book, it is a history of the Sikh Community from Guru Nanak to Guru Gobind Singh. It traces the brief account of the Sikh Gurus and the gradual process of the development of the Sikh community under their guidance. Sukhdial Singh has not only pin pointed the unhistorical events narrated by Gian Singh in his work but tried to present them in historical perspective with documentary support. It goes to his credit.

Twarikh Shamsher Khalsa is the fourth chapter of the book, it deals with the life and achievements of Banda Singh Bahadur in the Punjab and the Sikh struggle till 1767. In brief, Sikh struggle for sovereignty has been discussed. At certain places the author of the book does not agree with the information provided by Gian Singh. He logically contradicts it on the basis of available sources. He gives instances of some unhistorical statements or rumours based on gossips (p. 63) which are far away from historical truth (p.50).

In *Raj Khalsa*, the fifth chapter of the book, Sukhdial Singh has discussed in brief, history of the Sikh misals. Though he finds exeggaration in the account of Giani Gian Singh yet he praised the merit of the contents.

In chapter sixth *Sardar Khalsa* the author succinct Giani Gian Singh's account of the eight prominent Sikh families—Sandhanwalias, Attariwalas, Majithias, Bhadaurias, Badrukhan, Buria, Khamanowale and Malaudias. He has not given his point of view regarding their mutual relations and their activities to strengthen the Sikh Kingdom, which would have been his major contribution to understand the period. As we know these Sardars played important role in strengthening the State in the nineteenth century Punjab.

Similarly in the chapter *Panth Khalsa* the writer of the book has introduced the various sects which belonged to the Sikhs. Though the author has tried to analyse the account of these sects yet the discussion is brief and needs more discussion. If more details have been provided that would have been of value to the readers. There is a long list of bibliography which enriches the book. Some of the books are mentioned for the first time in the list such as Akali Kaur Singh's *Hazuri Sathi: Takhat Sachkhand Sri Abchal Nagar Hazur Sahib Ji De Jimevar Karkun Ate Chaakar*, etc. This work is related to the last days of Guru Gobind Singh and the preliminary arrangements of Takhat Sri Hazur Sahib Naded.

The printing mistakes have marked the value of the book. I hope the author while in its revised edition will take care. The price is little on the higher side. The work is a good step in the field of historiography.

Dr D.K. Verma
Reader,
Deptt. of Punjab Historical Studies,
Punjabi University, Patiala.

***Babbar Da Bunga* (Punjabi), by Hari Singh Ruprah,
Ruprah Computers, Jabbalpur, pp.115, price Rs. 100/-**

The story of freedom struggle in the Punjab is dominated by the militant mode. Began with the armed resistance by Bhai Maharaj Singh it stepped forward through the activities of Ram Singh Pathania, the Namdharis, the disturbances of 1907 to the Ghadr Party uprising. These revolts were suppressed by the imperial power yet these left a deep imprint on the process of awakening the masses. As a consequence the Babbar Akali movement engulfed the state of Punjab after the Jallianwala Bagh, Martial Law and Nankana Sahib atrocities. The Babbar Akali was a militant response to the militant nature of the British administration.

No systematic and thorough study of the Babbar Akalis is available but the movement has attracted widely the attention of the popular and academic world. The present work falls in this category and is an eye-witness account of Babbar Akalis in the village Dhamian Kalan of district Hoshiarpur. This case study presents an interesting account of the origin and nature of the Babbar activities. It rejects the view that the agitation was communal. Instead it establishes that the Babbar Akalis were staunch anti-imperialist patriots with the mission to achieve freedom. They had no concept of leadership except the determination that formed the underlying force of this mass movement.

The author belongs to this village. There are glimpses of the socio-economic structure of the village. Most of the Babbars of the village were ex-armymen. They had seen social discrimination and thus were inspired by the passion to overthrow the British. Their activities began with the murders of the police touts, tyrannical officials and by doing so they spread their message to the people to become fearless of the *raj*. Among the prominent Babbars of this village were Sant Lakha Singh, Bhola Singh, Piara Singh, Dalipa, Banta Singh, Jiwan Singh, Ujjagar Singh etc.

The account covers the activities of the Babbars, their personalities, companions, places to hide, their arrests and sentences. The police repression on the village, tortures perpetrated on the Babbars, life imprisonments and death sentences also form the subject matter. Interestingly the Babbars did not end up in 1926 but continued their activities during the World War-II till independence. Written in popular idiom the book certainly is oral evidence and it rightly proves that the Babbar Akali agitation was political and its aim was to achieve 'Puran Swaraj.' In that sense it adds to the literature on the freedom struggle in Punjab and here lies its significance.

Dr Navtej Singh
Reader,
Dept. of Punjab Historical Studies,
Punjabi University, Patiala.

Udham Singh, By Sikander Singh, Pub. by Chattar Singh Jiwan Singh, Amritsar, 1998, pp. 391, price Rs. 350/-

The alluring library edition of the work has been the first and the realistic approach of the author to a challenging taste of our historiology. The treatment and the style speak a lot about the deepest and the sincerest devotion with which the material has been brought out to the light of the day. The methodists (communalists) and the methodology prone (secularistic intelligentsia) academics have exiled the original style of our own historians. The writer of this book (Sikander Singh) has brought in our original (indigenous) style of intimacy (if not the subjectivity) for the 'study' of a subject than objectively unconcerned analyicism of so-called secular or progressivist 'thinkers.' The concept and the fact of the martyrdom are highly sensitive concerns of both history and historiography. A patriotic deed may be politicised as a 'secular' subject matter, but the most pious feat of the 'martyrdom' can't be misinterpreted into any selfishness. The writers and the historians of our near past had been relentlessly playing politics with the great sacrifices of our patriotic 'race' having indomitable love for the 'freedom.'

We were doing a sort of discredit to their Himalayan zeal and zest when we went on 'copying' and 'authenticating, that damn anything which the others would put before us either in a biased or Europeanised (or proletarian) tinge. With the passing away of the remained generation of the history-writers our subjugated India had been possessing, a brave-new generation of the original historians is coming up who are not bothered about the 'touts' or the recruits of that sick-souled lovers of their 'slavery- days'.

Sikander Singh is one of those 'free-born' and 'freedom-loving' example of that new brave generation of our historians. We got our slavery removed from the land of our ancestral glory not because of those inspirations what the Europeans would have been influenced from i.e. the French, the Russian, or so and-so, peoples' struggles. Our own history, our own 'fighters,' martyrs, heroes etc. of our recent past had been the source of our inspiration more. We are 'spirit-oriented' more than 'body-oriented.' Therefore the interpretation of our historical constituents by the body-politicians of historiography is just a 'fiends' childish momentariness.

The nature of the inner make up of Udham Singh also works within the nomenclature of his so many names. But the prominent ones had been three or four i.e. *Ram Mohamad Singh Azad*. All the three stood as the representatives of our three major communities fighting collectively for the freedom i.e. Hindus, Muslims and the Sikhs. The *three in one 'proposition'* could add a fourth partner also to itself, as the European Christian friends also would come to his help and those Christians had been 'free' since the centuries and Udham Singh had married Christian lady to have a protective refuge in her. So, to me 'Azad' might be the 'spirit,' within and without, what Udham Singh might have been facing at hand as his inspiring helpers.

Sikander Singh has done a great service to us all by bringing forth, to light, much of the original documents and the photographs related to the real saga of the enduring patriotism. The writer's (scholar's) singular courage and his convictional boldness is highly appreciable, especially because of the fact that he did not succumb to the hurdles and the discouragements than carried on his mission of bringing out the real image and a crystal clear picture of Udham Singh's 'life-force' i.e. the love for Amritsar, the Gurus, the freedom fighters, the deep-rooted imprint he had kept within his bosom, of the public tragedy of Jallianwala massacre etc.

The politicians, since then, have been playing the card of that 'saga' in their favour and according to their colourings, but this book has thrown a sufficient light upon the agencies who were working behind the scene to creating a scene at the expense of

those innocent and 'merri-making excursionists.' This playing with the innocence is the part of all mass-movements where the miscreant among our own camp is well camouflaged suitably. This book brings out this loose side of the nature of our so-called freedom struggle. The 'enemy' from the ruling class had been also from us (the beaurocrats) but the enemy hidden within us could use the innocents like those at Jallianwala Bagh, in an entrapped way to scoring upon their vaguely identified 'enemy' (i.e. communal infightings) concealed within our bossoms since the Aristocracy and the Autocracy.

The writer of this book is completely successful in making his point clear that our freedom fighters were an honest generation and the politicians but an admixture of many weaknesses of being swayed away by the momentary exigencies liable to giving a narrowly serveable comfort. It is the state of their 'wait and see' policy which could impel them to caste their vote of conscience quite tendentiously than judiciously; while a man of sacrifice is never a calculating 'agency' for any selfish end in his mind. So, who should be the object of reverence; the man of sacrifice (the martyrs) or the politician? The writer has made us well impressed to decide in favour of the real sons of our patriotic behaviour we have learnt since the examples of our great men of the spiritual sacrifices, the Gurus, the men of struggle against the foreign invasions etc.

I recommend the book as a unique dimension to the way we should adopt in the studying of the 'inner will' and the inner make-up of our freedom fighters and the martyrs. The style shall encourage the others to realise that no hinderance is so much ruthless which could exhaust the endurance of a real and earnest lover of the original 'research' as that of Sikander Singh has been proved to be.

Himat Singh
Punjabi University, Patiala.

Challenge to Imperial Hegemony: The Life Story of A Great Indian Patriot Udham Singh, by Navtej Singh, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1998, pp. I-XXXIV+ 1-320, price Rs. 350/-

Biography and history are complementary disciplines. Both converge to reproduce lasting interpretations. Historian's craft lies on the subtlety of this complementarity. The work under review is an attempt to achieve such laudable objective. Udham Singh, the martyr, remains on the sidelines of Marxist and Nationalist historiography. Perhaps taken as an alter ego of Bhagat Singh, the martyr, who performs functions from the centre-stage both ideologically and politically. Shaheed Udham Singh has received

less scholarly attention. This was partly due to restrictions placed on the scrutiny of papers lying in the British Archives. Due to the efforts of the Shaheed Udham Singh Welfare Trust, and support from the Indian Workers' Association, Great Britain, much of the material has been retrieved. Hence, Navtej Singh has taken up this task of historiographical reconstruction of Udham Singh, the martyr—a task long overdue.

The biography is structured in the colonial milieu because it impinged upon the mind of Shaheed Udham Singh. The colonial state introduced the 'payment of land tax in cash which was collected with the greatest severity and it wrought havoc on the peasantry' (p. 2). The British suppressed dissent with a heavy hand. New ways of political mobilization became apparent. The Kukas, the agrarian uprising of 1907 and the Ghadar Movement explicitly challenged the might of the British empire. Madan Lal Dhingra shot dead Sir Curzon Wyllie for which he was hanged on 17th August 1909. The British relied more and more on the use of force for the administration of the problem-province (p. 17). The name of Francis Michael O'Dwyer—the Lt. Governor of the Punjab—as 'a tyrant' became embedded in the folk-psyche' (p. 19). The Jallianwala Bagh massacre on 13th April 1919 personified ruthlessness of British imperialism. The subsequent Martial Law regime further terrified the Punjabis. The Akalis and the Babbar Akalis continued anti-British tirade through peaceful and violent means respectively. The Babbars were suppressed with force. Out of 186 Babbar prisoners, five were sentenced to death, 11 to transportation for life and 38 to various terms of imprisonment. In the mid 1920s, Bhagat Singh became a symbol of anti-imperialist struggle. The Naujwan Bharat Sabha advocated revolutionary action (p. 26). His execution on 23rd March 1931 alongwith Rajguru and Sukhdev 'deeply influenced the revolutionary career of Udham Singh' (p. 28).

Udham Singh, whose childhood name was Sher Singh, was born on 26th December 1899 at *mohalla* Pilbad, Sunam in the family of Chuhan Ram of Kambo community and *Jammu gotra*. His mother's name was Naraini. His parents got baptism with the new names of Tehal Singh and Harnam Kaur. They were poor peasants who grew and sold vegetables. His father did odd jobs. His mother passed away at early stage. Poverty and unemployment remained at the doorsteps of the family. Unfortunate death of Tehal Singh forced his benefactor Bhai Chanchal Singh to admit former's two sons to the Central Sikh Orphanage at Putlighar (Amritsar) on 24th October 1907. Both brothers were baptised. Sher Singh's name was changed to Udham Singh though he continued to use his earlier name until March 1933 when he got passport at Lahore. Hence, Udham Singh stuck to him forever. However, he also tattooed Mohammad Singh Azad on his arm. He passed his matriculation in 1917. The

Udham Singh seemed determined to shoot Michael O'Dwyer. From contemporary accounts it appears that no one took him seriously. Michael O'Dwyer was attending a meeting organised by the East India Association. Udham Singh had earlier met him. Other prominent persons were the Marquess of Zetland and Sir Louis Dane. Udham Singh was also one of listeners. He shot Michael O'Dwyer on 13th March 1940 at the Caxton Hall at 4.30 P.M. He was arrested there immediately. After the murder, Udham Singh was seen 'composed and smiling.' His diary showed entries of deed with determination. He wanted 'to protest for the sake of his country not to kill anybody' (pp. 113-14). The story was picked up in every capital of the world. Two common themes were: Michael O'Dwyer was the victim of a twenty one years old vendetta and his death was a symptom of disharmony between London and Delhi. The Amritsar massacre of 1919 resurfaced in the news once again.

The press in England published the news with photographs. It underlined 'the firm policy' line of Michael O'Dwyer, Louis Dane and Lamington. The English press in India 'deplored the murder, condemned the extremists and underlined the strong ties between India and Great Britain. The nationalist press pointed out 'the root causes of violent acts of the extremist fringe.' Mahatma Gandhi was 'pained for this act of insanity' (p. 134).

In the Punjab, the police let loose terror on all his relatives and friends. Their properties were confiscated. The army was not spared from retribution. Many Punjabi soldiers and officers were denied promotions. Even some were cashiered. The Punjabi soldiers were told to express their regret openly at their temples, mosques and gurdwaras. The secret reports established two points: one that Udham Singh was a revolutionary who believed in violence; two, that the murder was an act of revenge taken by him without involving anybody else (p. 143).

The Sikhs in the UK and America rallied behind Udham Singh. They had collected a sum of £ 200 for the defence. Selection of defence counsel became arduous. Finally, it settled on Krishna Menon whose 'sole motive' was to give political colour to the trial. He preferred to 'drag in' the Amritsar massacre though 'it did not figure in the statement of Udham Singh' (p. 165). Udham Singh resorted to hunger strike. He was forcibly fed 93 times. The judge Mr. Atkinson noted Udham Singh's hatred for the British rule in India. He also mentioned the Amritsar massacre. The jury found him guilty of murder, Udham Singh spoke in the court which the judge called 'a political speech.' Indeed it was a political statement. He expressed sympathy with the workers of England but condemned the British empire. He was sentenced to death on 5th June 1940. His friends appealed on his behalf which was fixed on 15th July. His counsels were also hoping against

hope. The appeal was dismissed. Next step was a petition for mercy. Udham Singh declined but his counsel Krishna Menon agreed as a gesture. It was submitted on 27th July with 395 signatures. The petition was rejected by the Secretary of State for India. Udham Singh was executed at 9 O'clock on 31st July 1940. He was looking 'weak but calm' (p. 192). He was buried in the graveyard of Pentonville, near the grave of Madan Lal Dhillon who had been hanged in 1909. However, his remains were brought to India on 19th July 1974 and were accorded the state honour.

The author sets the biographical reconstruction in the colonial set-up. The colonial state 'relied on the use of state force in the shape of the police, armed forces, prisons and courts of law to consolidate its ascendancy'. The oppression provoked resistance and generated revolutionary consciousness. Udham Singh was 'the construct of this awareness.' The author has painstakingly revised the earlier set images of Shaheed Udham Singh as a carefree terrorist without any ideology. The legacy of the Ghadar Party, the Babbar Akalis and Shaheed Bhagat Singh always moved his conscience. His travels abroad and mixing with revolutionaries make his patriotic zeal implicit. His activities were part of his revolutionary praxis. Perhaps, he was looking for an opportunity which Michael O' Dwyer provided by referring to the Amritsar massacre in his speech. His act has become 'a symbol not only to Indians but to the entire humanity in continuing its struggle against slavery, exploitation and oppression' (p. 220). Photographs in the book add more to the story. Appendices provide rich insight into the mind of Shaheed Udham Singh and his deed. Researchers owe debt to the author for providing such a valuable material. The work is an essential reading for all those who take the activities of revolutionaries seriously to understand the nature of Indian independence struggle.

Dr Sukhdev Singh Sohal
Senior Lecturer,
Department of History,
Guru Nanak Dev University,
Amritsar.

OBITUARY
PROF. M.L. AHLUWALIA

PROF. KIRPAL SINGH *

Prof M.L. Ahluwalia, M.A. (Hons. in History) was a towering personality and doyen in the field of history research. He was a historian-archivist who has devoted his whole life for the study and publication of documents relating to Sikh History. He passed away on 8th January, 2000 causing a great void in the field of historiography.

Before joining the National Archives of India from where he retired in 1980 as Deputy Director, he has been teaching history at various colleges in Punjab. After joining National Archives soon after India got independence he devoted himself entirely to the study of records relating to Sikh history. During his service as well as after his retirement he continued his research work and produced monumental books. He specialised on the period of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. He discovered and edited the documents relating to *Maharaja Ranjit Singh's Negotiations with the British Envoy Charles Metcalfe (1808-1809)*. It is a detailed study of Anglo-Sikh relations which culminated in the Treaty of Amritsar. The book was published in 1982. Then he wrote another book entitled *Landmarks in Sikh History*, which was published in 1996. It is a remarkable work in Sikh history research. *Remembering of Maharaja Ranjit Singh* was published in 1991. In this book, he brought out the personality of Maharaja Ranjit Singh dealing with Afghans as well as with the British. Besides this, he published *Documents relating to Gurdwara Reform Movement (1919-1925)* in 1985. His work on *Life of Rani Jind Kaur* is under print. One of his earliest publication was *Punjab's Pioneer Freedom Fighters* (co-authored with the undersigned). This book was published by Orient Longman in 1963, and its Punjabi translation was prescribed for the Giani course in the Universities in Punjab. Till the last breath of his life, he was working for the Sikh history. His books were considered an authority

he had great qualities of head and heart. He made an effort to establish charitable hospital at his village in the district Hoshiarpur. He was a affectionate friend. He used to help the young scholars working on Punjab History or Sikh History visiting the National Archives. He was a great source of assistance to the visiting young scholars to find their relevant records. I have known Professor Ahluwalia since 1952 and ever since we have been in close contact.

Professor Ahluwalia could talk about many intricate matters in history research. He has brought out many new things in Sikh history. He was of the view that in records British have given a twist to everything in their favour. It is the job of historian to straighten the record and bring them to light. He has shown that Rani Jind Kaur was a very remarkable bold lady and fought against the British very valiantly. He was of the view that second Sikh war was the war of liberation and has proved that Dewan Mul Raj, Chattar Singh, Sher Singh Attariwala and Rani Jind Kaur were freedom fighters.

He wrote a full biography of Bhai Maharaj Singh which was published by Punjabi University, Patiala. He brought out for the first time that the Sikh Regiments offered to the British their one month's pay to make good their loss and not to dismember the kingdom of Maharaja Ranjit Singh by separating Kashmir.

His loss will be felt by all those who are interested in Sikh history research. To me it is a personal loss.